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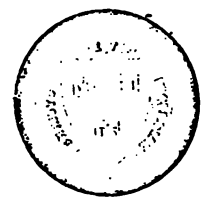

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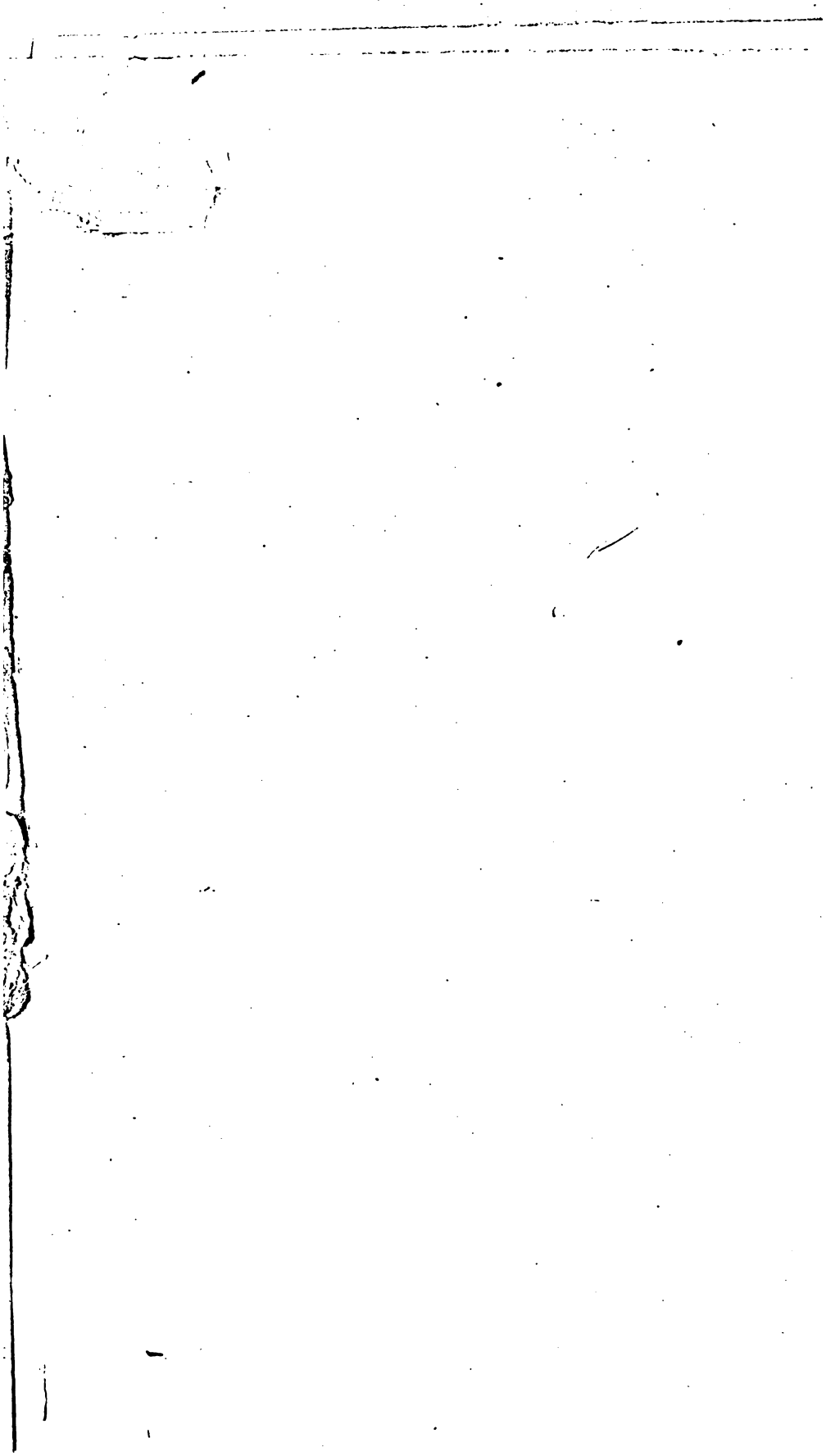

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MEDIEVAL HELLENISM

BY

LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS, A. M.

PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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PREFACE

THE essay here presented in independent form was originally intended to fill the place of a general introduction to a study of the Greek Renaissance in Italy. Shortcomings which would have seemed grave in the main treatise, might, it was hoped, appear less flagrant in the prefatory sketch affixed to a more detailed and thorough body of work. Unfortunately it has been found impossible within the limit of time allowed for the preparation of a doctor's dissertation to advance further than the beginning of the central chapters of the projected discussion. Accordingly it is now thought expedient to publish separately the introductory matter in order to fulfil the requirements for the degree, with the expectation that the whole of the contemplated work will be issued later.

It is with considerable diffidence, nevertheless, that this slight and inadequate discussion of a broad and complex subject is presented for judgment solely upon its own merits. How slight and how inadequate it is, and how unfit to stand alone the author is regretfully aware. If it prove in any way useful or suggestive as a partial enumeration of facts not often brought together it will have accomplished every desired end.

The writer is glad of the opportunity to express her enduring obligation to Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University for direction and counsel in all her work

for several years past, and likewise her gratitude to Professor George Lincoln Burr of Cornell University for additional criticism and advice upon this present undertaking.

LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS.

AUGUST, 1906.

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CHAPTER I

THE Greek of the classic period is to modern imagination an old and familiar acquaintance. We have long been versed in the outlines of his politics, his art and his literature. We have passed judgment again and again upon his fitful patriotism, his restless ambition, his versatility and his humor, his love of beauty and vigorous thinking, and his talent for viewing a question impartially on both sides. We have heard the music of his language in prose and verse. We are now unearthing the remains of the very houses in which he lived and the temples where he paid honor to his gods. We are learning to describe in detail the treasure vaults of Homeric kings and the hillside theatres where latter-day democracies sat to witness the tragedies of Euripides. Indeed we have read so much of what the men of those ages said of themselves and their institutions and have looked upon so many of their monuments, that from it all we have derived a fairly exact conception, such as it is, of the achievements and temper of the whole race. We feel that we should not find ourselves among total strangers were we on a sudden set down in the tent of Achilles or before the speaker's platform in the Athenian assembly.

Now and again in some medieval chronicle or tale of ancient days we confront a figure that bears a well-known Greek name, but whose form and character by some mysterious process have been altered almost beyond recognition. The classic Greek of our experience is keen-witted, self-reliant, self-possessed, the Greek to whom the writer of the

Middle Ages introduces us is more simple-minded and devout, above all more romantic. He wears frequently a title or a dress that seems to us curiously anomalous. We have fancied ourselves not ignorant of the ways about Ilium, but Emperor Priam, Duke Hector and their liege knights are not the warriors who used to meet us there. We have surely never seen before the amorous Prince Troilus and his love Cressid of whom this new historian has so much to say. Can Atlas, the great astrologer, Prometheus, the successful scientist and Hercules, the social reformer, clad in the garb of doctors of the Sorbonne, can they be the heroes of the mythical wondertales we have loved from childhood? Who is the Philosopher or his pupil, the son of Nectanebus, conqueror of the natural and supernatural world? An unearthly glamor hangs around the two, making it difficult to identify them with any Greeks who lived in the hard, practical daylight of the fourth century. Some of our favorite names this twelfth century author does not appear to know at all, Leonidas, Themistocles or Pericles. Of others he recounts extraordinary fables, unlike anything we have hitherto heard regarding them. Greek art of every sort apparently means little to him, for he does not mention it among the redoubtable attainments of the race. On the other hand, he makes much of certain portions of Greek philosophy which in our esteem occupy usually a somewhat secondary place. Of it all he speaks with assurance too, as confident as we that his information is adequate and correct. He is eight hundred years nearer to that Hellenic world than we. What material had he different from ours to give him ideas of it so inconsistent with our own? Where did the Middle Ages get its knowledge of Greece?

The Romans, as everyone knows, were pupils of the Greeks in most departments of learning. Their instruction was obtained largely at first hand from Greek teachers

brought to the West or from the famous schools of Rhodes and Athens. Until the fourth century of our era the study of the works of the chief Attic poets, orators and historians in their original tongue formed an important part of the training of every educated gentleman. But during the course of the fourth and fifth centuries there took place throughout the Western provinces a gradual dissolution of the order of civilization which the Roman Empire had established and so long preserved. Standards of religion and conduct changed, forms of government gave way, a new and cruder race wrested the dominion from the hands of the cultivated, leisure classes of the old society. The incentives and the instruments for the acquisition of culture slowly disappeared.[1] Secular schools, both public and private, closed for want of protection and support, and teachers grew constantly rarer and less efficient. A dense and widespread ignorance followed the period of political and social disintegration. The deterioration of taste that marked the few litterati that remained made impossible any fresh appeal to artistic sensibility or intellectual enthusiasm. Even in churches and convents education was commonly reduced to instruction in reading and writing and in the use of a limited number of Latin works that bore upon religion. Only here and there did a clerk undertake to learn enough Greek to read and translate a treatise of a Greek father or to carry on communication with the Eastern branch of the Church. An exceptional scholar of this kind was occasionally employed by king or noble to negotiate a marriage with an Oriental princess or to transact some other diplomatic errand at the stately court by the Bosphorus.

During the sixth and early seventh centuries the only

[1] In this brief summary of the decline of classic culture until the time of Charlemagne I have made especial use of a recent study of the subject by M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone a Alcuin.*

schools of Western Europe to keep alive a genuine zeal for classic culture were the Irish.[1] Founded by missionaries from Gaul and Britain in the fifth century when learning had not yet quite vanished from its ancient seats, and secure by reason of their remoteness from the wars and tumults that distracted the continent, they continued to send forth preachers and reformers trained not only along strictly theological lines but also to some extent in the broad fields of general literature. Their acquaintance with the classic authors was confined apparently to the Latin. Their knowledge of Greek was scanty and fragmentary, deduced in all probability from Greek quotations and references in Latin works and glosses. In the year 669, however, Theodore of Tarsus was appointed archbishop of Canterbury and came to England bringing his friend Hadrian, a monk from North Africa, to superintend the reorganization of English clerical schools.[2] Through their influence the leadership in the intellectual world passed for the time to England, and Greek was taught side by side with Latin at Canterbury and York. The foremost English scholars of the generations immediately succeeding, Bede and Aldhelm, were conversant with authorities in both languages. From the English schools Greek was likewise transplanted to Ireland and flourished there, when its short-lived renaissance in England was over. Alcuin and his fellow countrymen of the later eighth century who aided Charlemagne to revive the study of letters in his empire possessed little or no Greek, but Sedulius Scotus and Erigena were Hellenists of considerable ability and in their day extended the renown of Irish scholarship over Europe.

But with the passing of the ninth century two changes were taking place which were to result in a still greater

[1] Roger, chs. vi and vii. *Cf.* Traube, *O Roma Nobilis*, pp. 353 *et seq.*

[2] Roger, ch. viii and ch. x, pt. vi.

diminution in the number of such occasional scholars. The Irish monastic schools were feeling at last the demoralizing effects of barbarian invasions and fast decaying into inactivity and uselessness. On the other hand the chief remaining motive for the continuation of the cultivation of Greek was disappearing in the steadily widening schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches. To the jealousy and hostility naturally ensuing from differences in race and civilization and from rival claims to the leadership of Christendom, was added now the bitterness of religious divisions. The suspicion of heresy became to the Western mind more and more firmly attached to everything connected with the farther end of the Mediterranean.[1] Even political and commercial intercourse dwindled for a time. The two halves of the Christian world proceeded on diverging ways with less and less regard to one another, the Greeks scornful of the barbarity and grossness of the Teutonic kingdoms, the Latins despising the luxury and refinement of the Byzantines, thoroughly content with the growing estrangement and with their own crude Latinity.[2]

Thus from the tenth century onward the sources from which a knowledge of the Greek language could be acquired and the motives for its acquisition were extraordinarily few. Now and then a pilgrim or wayfarer from Germany or Italy made the journey to the East to win spiritual merit or to

[1] As late as the time of the Renaissance Theodore of Besa wrote: "Si on eust voulu croire nos maistres (of the University of Paris), estudier le Grec et se mesler tant soit peu de l'Hebreu estoit une des plus grandes hérésies du monde." Quoted by Roger, p. 389, n. 2.

[2] The embassy of Liutprand in 968 marked a special effort on the part of Otto I. to come to an understanding with the Eastern Emperor, particularly on the subject of the disputed lands in South Italy. The spirit in which Liutprand viewed the Oriental court after this visit is clearly displayed in his vivacious report. An English translation is included in Henderson, *Medieval Documents*, p. 442, *et seq.* For original sée Liutprand, *Opera*, ed Dümmler, pp. 136 *et seq.*

satisfy an adventurous curiosity, and returning brought with him tales of strange experiences and a smattering of foreign tongues and, possibly, a manuscript or two which in the course of time he might laboriously translate.[1] Such was Ulric or Udalric, abbot of the monastery at Freising, who in the middle of the eleventh century visited Greece and the Holy Land and carried back a copy of the Greek romance of Alexander ascribed to Pseudo-Callisthenes, which in the leisure hours of after years he put into Latin,[2] Such was probably James, a clerk of Venice, who in the early twelfth century translated parts of the Organon of Aristotle for the benefit of the schoolmen.[3] Such also was the jurist, John Burgundio of Pisa, at one time employed by Barbarossa in the East, who at the instigation of Pope Eugenius IV translated various homilies of Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus.[4] Such again was William Gap, a monkish physician of Paris, who in 1167 went to Constantinople in quest of Greek manuscripts for Odo, abbot of St. Denis, and succeeded in procuring a life of that Dionysius whom the convent claimed as patron saint by Michael Syncellus, patriarch of Jerusalem, and also an anonymous life of the philosopher Secundus. A fellow monk put the biography of Dionysius into Latin soon after Gap's return and dedicated

[1] For a considerable list of such Greek scholars see Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, Bk. vi, ch xxvi–xxxii.

[2] Cramer, *De Græcis Medii Œvi Studiis*, p. 55.

[3] Our actual information concerning James is limited to that contained in a sentence inserted in the Chronicle of Robert de Mont St. Michel for the year 1128: "Jacobus clericus de Venecia transtulit de Greco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est; scilicet Topica, Anal. priores et posteriores et Elencos; quamvis antiquior translatio super eosdem libros haberetur." Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Scriptores*, vol. vi. p. 489. The last clause has led to search for older translations, but none have yet been found. Cousin looked fruitlessly through the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque National. *Ouvrages Inédits*, p. liv.

[4] Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 72. Sandys, p. 536.

it to abbot Odo; the other Gap himself worked upon in later years when abbot in Odo's place.[1]

A growing dissatisfaction with the current Latin versions of Aristotle and an ambition to know him more and better were characteristics of the intellectual situation at the opening of the thirteenth century. At the same time the temporary occupation of the Eastern Empire by the crusaders encouraged passage between the two divisions of Christendom. In 1205 Pope Innocent III in the name of the new emperor, Baldwin invited the masters and students of the University of Paris to betake themselves to Greece to revive the study of letters in the land where it first arose.[2] Shortly afterwards a slight movement of scholars toward Greece seems actually to have taken place. Athens was in ruins, a desolate wreck of her former self, but John of Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, studied there and "saw and heard from the wise Greek doctors things unknown to the Latins." He brought home to England several Greek texts, in particular a "Greek Donatus" or manual of grammar, which he afterwards translated. He likewise informed his friend Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, of the existence of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," a work understood to be a Greek rendering of an ancient Hebrew original, and to contain irrefutable proofs in the shape of ancient Messianic prophecies of the truth of Christianity. Grosseteste was aroused by the news to send a messenger to Greece after the

[1] Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 46. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xiv, pp. 374–6. Sandys, p. 534.

[2] "... quatinus in Greciam accedentes ibi studeatis litterarum studium reformare, unde noscitur exordium habuisse, ... non tedeat plerosque vestrum ad terram argento et auro gemmisque refertam, frumento, vino et oleo stabilitam et bonorum omnium copiis affluentem accedere, ut ad illius honorem et gloriam a quo est omnis scientie donum sibi et aliis ibidem proficiant." Denifle, *Chartularium*, vol. i, p. 63.

Testaments and to have a translation made of them.[1] At the same time he learned to read a little Greek himself, and superintended the preparation of versions from the Greek of the letters of St. Ignatius and of the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle.[2] The manuscripts came perhaps from John of Basingstoke. The translators were a small number of other monks who had traveled abroad, including one or two Greek sojourners in English cloisters.[3]

[1] "Hic magister I(ohannes) intimaverat episcopo Lincolniensi Roberto, quod quando studuit Athenis viderat et audierat ab peritis Grecorum doctoribus quedam Latinis incognita. Inter que reperit duodecim patriarcharum, filiorum videlicet Iacob, testamenta; que constat esse de substantia Bibliothece, sed per invidiam Iudeorum dudum fuisse abscondita, propter manifestas, que in eisdem patent, de Christo prophetias. Unde idem episcopus misit in Greciam et cum ea habuisset, transtulit de Greco in Latinum et quedam alia. . . . Memoratus insuper I(ohannes) quoddam scriptum transtulit de Greco in Latinum, in quo artificiose et compendiose tota vis grammatice continetur; quod idem magister Donatum Grecorum appellavit . . . . item aliud scriptum quod ab Atheniensibus habuit." Matthew Paris, *Chron. Mai.*, vol. v, pp. 284–6.

[2] On Grosseteste's own knowledge of Greek, Roger Bacon says: "Sed non bene scivit linguas ut transferret, nisi circa ultimum vite sue quando vocavit Grecos et fecit libros Grammatice Grece de Grecia et aliis congregari. Sed isti pauca transtulerunt." Bacon, *Op. Tert.*, p. 91. See also *Comp. Phil.*, p. 472. *Gk. Grammar*, p. lvii. But that Grosseteste was actually able at one time to read Greek with some enjoyment and to make a rough translation of the gist of a book is proved by a letter of his own to the abbot and monks of Peterborough: "Quiescens hac septimana proxima paululum ab exteriorum tumultu, quadam eiusdem septimane die lectioni parumper vacans incidi in quandam conscriptionem de vita monachorum que eam decenter extollit; et quia vestro studio credidi gratum fore si quod ibidem intelligere potui vobiscum communicarem, non verba que ibidem inveni, quia alterius quam Latine sunt lingue, sed extractum pro modulo meo verborum sensum, adiectis alicubi paucis ad dilucidationem in hanc paginam redigens, vobis destinare curavi." Grosseteste, *Epistolæ*, p. 173. See also Sandys, pp. 554–5. Jourdain, p. 140. For mention of a Greek psalter said to have belonged to Grosseteste, see James, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 528.

[3] "Illum igitur gloriosum tractatum (the above-mentioned Testaments) ad robur fidei Christiane et ad maiorem Iudeorum confusionem transtulit plene et evidenter episcopus memoratus de Greco, verbo ad verbum, in Latinum, coadiutante magistro Nicolao Greco, clerico abbatis Sancti Albani." Matthew Paris, *Chron. Mai.* vol. iv, p. 233. One of the fifteenth century humanists criticises the rendering of

In fact it appears for a time a part of the official policy of the Dominican order to keep a few of its promising men trained in Greek both to carry on the work of propagandism in the East and to aid in theological and philosophical translations at home.[1] Of particular importance in their day were the little group of linguists gathered about the great Dominican schoolman, Thomas Aquinas, at Paris. The best known of these was William, a native of Moerbeka in Brabant. After studying for some time in Greece he served as Greek secretary at the great ecumenical Council of Lyons in 1274, where he took part in the chanting of the Nicene Creed in Greek, repeating three times the phrase obnoxious to the Eastern churchmen.[2] Like others of his time he drew a distinction between contemporary Greeks who deserved only to be treated with rigor as degenerate schismatics and the

the Ethics. After speaking of a translation from the Arabic he continues: "Altera haec posterior et novior a Britanno quodam traducta, cuius etiam prœmium legimus, in quo et Fratrem se Ordinis Predicatorum scribit et rogatu confratrum de his transferendis laborem suscepisse." He condemns the version as bungling and inaccurate. Bruni, *Epistiolæ*, vol. i, p. 140.

[1] See the encyclical letter of Humbert, master-general of the Dominican order in 1255: "Quod si quis inspirante dei gracia cor suum invenerit secundum voluntatem gubernantis paratum ad linguam arabicam, hebraycam, grecam seu aliam barbaram addiscendam, ex quo sibi mercedem adquirere possit in opere salutari tempore opportuno, sive eciam repererit se dispositum ad exeundum castra proprie nacionis, transiturus ad provinciam Terre Sancte seu Grecie vel alias vicinas infidelibus . . . precor et moneo ut statum animi sui circa hoc mihi scribere non omittat." *Mon. Ord. Frat. Praed.*, vol. v, pp. 19–20. Also printed in Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anec.*, vol. iv, col. 1708. As early as 1239 Greece had been included among the Dominican provinces, organized along with other outlying regions, such as Poland, Dacia and Palestine. *Mon. Ord. Praed.*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 13, 18, etc. *Cf. Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xix, p. 342. The Franciscans were active in thirteenth century negotiations for a union of the Greek and Latin churches. "Minoritas insuper qui tanti operis (ecclesiastical negotiations) strenui erant administri atque apocrisiariorum pontificiorum munere fungebantur," etc. Raynaldus, 1273, cap. 50, p. 320, See references to their part in the movement in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. vi, pp. 119–163 *passim*.

[2] Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, vol. xxiv, pp. 64–5.

progenitors of the race who had achieved so much that was worth investigation and respect. Both in Paris, Rome and elsewhere he carried on the process of translating with vigor, producing versions of "all the books of (Aristotle's) Natural and Moral Philosophy at the request of brother Thomas," and also of "the books of Proclus and some other things," including a commentary on Aristotle by Simplicius, the De Prognosticationibus of Hippocrates and the De Alimentis of Galen.[1] "In translating these works from the Greek," he remarks in his preface to Galen, "I have hoped that my labor might serve to furnish some new light to the Latins, and if in this book I have attained my desire I offer thanks to Him who suffered me to finish it."[2] "Let the reader understand," he says in a note to his rendering of Simplicius, "that the Greek text was exceedingly corrupt and that in many passages I could extract no meaning from it. I have done what I could; it was better to have it thus imperfect than not at all."[3] In 1277 he was appointed archbishop of Corinth and spent his last years in an energetic endeavor to convert his province to orthodoxy.

Associated with him in the work of translating at Paris were Henry, also a Dominican monk of Brabant, and Thomas

[1] The following notice of William is given in a thirteenth century list of distinguished Dominicans at Paris: "Fr. Wilhelmus Brabantinus, Corinthiensis, transtulit omnes libros naturalis et moralis philosophie de greco in latinum ad instantiam fratris Thome. Idem transtulit libros Procli et quedam alia." *Archiv. für Litt. u Kirch. Gesch.*, 1886, vol. ii, p. 226. See further Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 67–70.

[2] "In his que per me trarsferuntur ex Greco operibus hoc intendere consuevi, ut Latinitati luminis aliquid adiiciat labor meus, quem finem si in hoc opere attigi, illi gratias habeo agere qui dedit et consummare." Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. iii, p. 29.

[3] "Sciat etiam qui hoc opus inspexerit, exemplar grecum valde fuisse corruptum, et in multis locis nullum subiectum potui ex littera trahere; feci tamen quod potui; melius erat sic corruptum habere quam nihil." Quoted by Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 73.

of Cantimpré.[1] It is clear that Aquinas toward the end of his life possessed two or more different versions of several treatises of Aristotle, all derived directly from the Greek, which he compared and discussed with the aim of arriving more surely at the original meaning.[2] A little more translating was accomplished by other Latin prelates in charge of Eastern churches during the brief period of Western dominion, a few of whom whiled away some hours of exile in struggling over Greek books, chiefly ecclesiastical. But their finished productions were too faulty and obscure to gain currency and for the most part perished unobserved.[3] With the return of the Greek emperors to Constantinople and the collapse of the precarious fabric of Latin political ascendency the clerical Hellenists disappear almost entirely.

The general drift of travel towards the Orient, accelerated by the revival of commerce as well as by the continuation of the crusades, attracted for the most part characters with no literary aspirations whatever. The merchant who plied between Marseilles, Genoa or Venice and the Levant, the soldier or freebooter who marched to the relief of the Holy Sepulchre had as a rule neither the tastes nor the education to dispose them to a search after intellectual riches. The more learned among the Latins came to save, convert and teach, not to be taught.[4] The Greeks growing ever more

[1] Jourdain, *op. cit.*, p. 66. *Archiv. für Litt. u. Kirch. Gesch.*, 1886, vol. ii, p. 227. Sandys, p. 564.

[2] Jourdain, *op cit.*, p. 40. [3] Traversari, *Epistolæ*, vol. i, p. ccxviii.

[4] A curious exception to the ordinary religious leader in his attitude toward the Greek world, was the mystic, Joachim of Fiore. In 1258 thirty errors from "The Everlasting Gospel," a book based upon his teaching, were condemned at Paris. Among these errors were the following: "Quartus est quod recessus ecclesie Grecorum ab ecclesia Romana fuit a Spiritu Sancto. . . . Sextus est quod populus Grecus magis ambulat secundum Spiritum Sanctum quam populus Latinus. . . . Septimus quod sicut Filius operatur salutem populi Latini sive populi Romani, quia ipsum representat, sic Spiritus Sanctus operatur salutem populi Greci, quia ipsum representat." Denifle, *Chartularium*, vol. i, p. 273.

sore and resentful under their rough handling held themselves severely aloof, where they could not actively resist.[1] One finds, therefore, but scanty trace of Greek influences upon the ordinary traveler. Only here and there upon a slip of parchment was preserved an ill-constructed glossary of Greek words for every-day use, or an abbreviated phrase-book of requests in colloquial dialect, for food, drink, shelter and other necessities.[2] The wide acquaintance with the fundamentals of one another's language which might have been expected from so long a period of frequent intercommunication did not take place. The alienation of spirit was too complete. What fragments of a Greek vocabulary were acquired by the usual wayfarer belonged, moreover, to the degenerate Romaic of the day, and did little to qualify their possessor to cope with a page from the classics.[3] To the end of the Middle Ages crusader and merchant continued to

[1] The Greek historians of the crusading period supply countless illustrations of this feeling. Nicetas, who describes from his own experience the sack of Constantinople in 1204, characterizes the Latin soldier as follows: "φωνὴ ἀσύμφωνος Ἕλλησι, γνώμη φιλοχρήματος, ὀφθαλμὸς ἀπαιδαγώγητος, γαστὴρ ἀκόρεστος, ὀργίλος καὶ ὁριμεῖα ψυχὴ καὶ χεὶρ διφῶσα τὸ ξίφος διὰ παντός." *De Rebus Post Captam Urbem Gestis. Migne*, vol. 139, p. 988. In a lament over a statue of Helen melted down by the crusaders for its bronze, he denounces the illiterate barbarians who are ignorant of Homer: "'Αλλως τε ποῦ παὶ ἀγραμμάτοις βαρβάροις καὶ τέλεον ἀναλφαβήτοις ἀνάγνωσις καὶ γνῶσις τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ ῥαψῳδηέντων ἐκείνων ἐπῶν.

Οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας 'Αχαιους
τοιῇδ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεαῖς εἰς ὦπα ἐοικεν."

De Statuis quas Francipoli Destruxerunt, Migne, ibid., p. 1054.

[2] Greek-Latin glossaries are occasionally mentioned in catalogues of medieval libraries. There was one at Rheims in the tenth or eleventh century, one in the monastery of St. Emmerammus at Ratisbon about the same period, one in the library of Corbie at the opening of the thirteenth century. Gottlieb, *Mittelalt. Bib.*, p. 342. Becker, *Cat. Bib. Antiq.*, pp. 128, 283. The library at Chartres in the twelfth century contained an "Alphabetum grece et orientale." Maitre, *Ecoles Episcopales*, p. 289. A suggestive specimen of a glossary of this sort is printed in Goetz and Gundermann, *Glossæ Latinograecae*, Preface.

[3] On popular Greek see Gidel, *Nouvelles Etudes*, pp. 253–6.

find camping ground and market in the Byzantine empire. They marched there, fought there, bought and sold and owned houses and land there, they lived and died there,—but they cared not to learn more than the inevitable minimum of its speech and they saw no value in its learning and its ancient manuscripts.[1] From the few Dominican scholars of the thirteenth century who sought the East for knowledge we hear of hardly another until we arrive at the humanists.

Rarely in medieval chronicles do we read of the appearance of Greeks in Western lands. At long intervals an official delegation from the Byzantine emperor attended the papal court or the sessions of a church council. In the spring of 1095 Alexis Comnenus sent envoys to the Synod of Placentia to plead for Christian aid against the encroaching hordes of Turks, and thereby contributed to bring about the determination of the Pope to preach the crusade at Clermont in the autumn.[2] Upon the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 from the allies who had proved more terrible than foes, Michael Palaeologus became alarmed by threats of a new crusade against his dominions and opened negotiations again with the Pope, offering to recognize the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See in return for its political countenance and favor.[3] The negotiations culminated in the great council which met at Lyons in 1274, where the Greek patriarch, the metropolitan of Nicæa and several high officials of the Byzantine court appeared to represent the

[1] On the triumphal march through the streets of Constantinople some of the crusaders carried inkhorns, pens and manuscripts to show their derision of a nation of scribes. "Οἱ δὲ γραφέας δόικας καὶ δοχεῖα μέλανος φέροντες τόμοις τὴν χεῖρα ἐδίδοσαν ὡς γραμματέας ἡμᾶς τωθάζοντες." Nicetas, *De Rebus Post Captam*, etc., *Migne*, vol. 139, p. 980.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi, p. 262.

[3] For a full account of the negotiations and their results see Gibbon, vol. vi, pp. 470-4. Hefele, vol. vi, pp. 119–163. Raynaldus, 1264–1282 *passim*. For the Council of Lyons see Mansi, vol. xxiv, pp. 37 *et seq.*

emperor and to tender in his name an oath of fidelity to Rome and its dogmas. At the council all was harmony. William of Moerbeka and a Franciscan who also understood Greek acted as interpreters.[1] At the close of the ceremonies of reconciliation the Te Deum was intoned in solemn rejoicing and the Greek legates were admitted to seats among the Roman cardinals. But the joy was short lived. In Byzantium the Greek bishops, supported by the nation as a whole, refused to admit the necessity for such an ignominious surrender of principles and defied the authority of the emperor. Succeeding popes added to the embarrassment of the friends of the union by insisting upon proofs of absolute submission such as the government found it impossible to give. At the death of Palaeologus in 1282 all pretense of maintaining his unpopular policy was abandoned and the proceedings of the Council of Lyons were as though they had never been. During the fourteenth century, however, as often as the triumphs of the Moslem drove the Greek court into a temporary panic, emissaries were despatched again to the Pope to discuss once more the proposition of an ecclesiastical union and an offensive league against the infidels.[2] The half-heartedness of these overtures was frequently recognized and the reception accorded them was not always cordial. As a political expedient to gain the assistance of the West they failed of substantial results. But in other connections we shall meet some of these later envoys again.

On other infrequent occasions when Greeks visited the West they were usually bound upon some private, particular errand and with its accomplishment vanished, making but

[1] *Cf. supra* p. 15.

[2] As Gibbon has it, "In the four last centuries of the Greek emperors their friendly or hostile aspect toward the Pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress, as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties." Vol. vii, p. 83.

slight impression upon the alien society around them. In the early eleventh century Greek craftsmen were employed at Rome to cast the bronze doors of the basilica of "St. Paul beyond the Walls" and inscribed in Greek letters the names of the prophets whose figures decorated the panels.[1] Toward the end of the twelfth century Isaac Angelus, son of the chancellor of the Emperor Manuel, "was in Paris attending upon the schools that through their teaching he might learn the language and ways of the Latins." On his return to the East he headed a successful revolution against a usurper of the throne and was himself crowned Emperor Isaac II.[2] A few years later comes a strange tale of the arrival at the court of King John of "certain Greek philosophers of grave and venerable aspect and bearing" from Athens, who proposed to convince the monarch of the errors of the Latin creed but were unceremoniously ordered to keep silence on the subject and to leave England.[3] In a few instances a Greek remained in the West long enough to be of actual literary service. Allusion has already been made to the "Nicholas Grecus," who as a monk in the abbey of St. Albans assisted Bishop Grosseteste in translating Aristotle's Ethics and certain religious works.[4] He was apparently a

[1] Sandys, p. 500.

[2] The chronicle ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough gives a full account of Isaac's fortunes. After describing the tyranny of the usurper, Andronicus, and his cruelty to Isaac's father it says, "Et habuit tertium filium, clericum sapientem, quem Greci nominabant Sacwize, Latine autem Ysakus; qui tempore persecutionis in transmarinis partibus Parisius commorans scholas frequentabat, ut in doctrinis Latinorum linguam et mores illorum disceret," etc. *Chronicle*, vol. i, pp. 255–261.

[3] "Quidam philosophi Greci, vultu et gestu severi et venerabiles, tertio vel quarto anno regni eiusdem regis I(ohannis) in Angliam ab Athenis venientes curiam regis adierunt, sperantes eum et alios per consequens occidentales in arcum pravum in articulis fidei convertisse . . . Et sic imposito eis silentio vacui recesserunt et confusi." Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, vol. iii, p. 64.

[4] *Cf. supra* p. 14 and n. 3.

person of unusual attainments, one of the few Greek scholars to share in the parsimonious praise dealt out by Roger Bacon to his contemporaries. Two generations earlier a converted Saracen, who was also an inmate of an English monastery, made himself useful in a similar way, translating the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies of Dionysius the Areopagite for John of Salisbury, in an attempt to improve upon the older version of Erigena.[1] We find John of Salisbury writing to him for an explanation of the word "ousia" as employed by Ambrose. "I have found the word a stumbling block," he says, "which none of our masters can remove, because they are ignorant of Greek."[2]

With the thirteenth century began a series of curiously futile and for the most part perfunctory efforts on the part of princes and popes to bring Greek scholars or teachers to the West for political or missionary purposes. Shortly after the events of 1204 Philip Augustus is said to have established and endowed at Paris a college of Constantinople for the benefit of students from the Greek empire, in order, as the historian suggests, that "they might gradually forget their ancient, traditional antipathy to the Latins and be convinced of their culture and magnanimity, and on returning home might publish abroad the Latin virtues to the great

[1] The Saracen had difficulty in converting the Greek into accurate and yet easy Latin. In his version of the Celestial Hierarchy he hit upon the device of writing as one the two or three Latin words which he sometimes needed to convey the meaning of a single Greek word. "Sepe autem, ubi duas vel tres dictiones Latinas pro una Greca posui, eas quasi unam coniunxi: non quod unam dictionem eas esse vellem, sed ut plenior intellectus fieret, et quantum elegantie ex inopia Latine locutionis tractatus iste perderet appareret." John of Salisbury, *Epist.* cxlix, *Migne*, vol. 199, p. 144. But in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy he abandoned the scheme, "et alicubi sensum potius quam verba sum secutus." *Op. cit.*, p. 260, *Epist.* ccxxx.

[2] "Verbi obstaculum reperi, quod nullus magistrorum nostrorum sufficit amovere, qui Grece lingue expertes sunt." *Op. cit.*, p. 162, *Epist.* clxix.

renown of the Latin name."[1] The plan was not devoid of a certain statesmanship but there is no record that any one ever profited by it. In 1362 a solitary officer, Master Ivan of Novarra, was found the one inhabitant of the buildings and was induced to make over the property for nine years to the the founders of the College de la Marche. In 1374 the university finally appropriated the whole for its own uses.[2] In 1248 Pope Innocent IV in a letter to the Chancellor of Paris unfolded a scheme by which ten young men versed in Arabic and other Eastern tongues should be supported by yearly contributions from the churches and monasteries of France while they studied at the university, "so that becoming learned in Holy Writ which teaches the ways of the Commandments of the Lord they may in turn instruct others in regions beyond the sea into salvation."[3] For forty

[1] "Post expugnatam Constantinopolim a Francis et Venetis sacro foedere iunctis, Philipo Aug. rege Lutetie conditum est collegium Constantinopolitanum ad ripam Sequane prope forum Malbertinum, nescio in arcano imperii consilio ut Grecorum liberi Lutetiam venientes una cum lingua latina paulatim vetus illud et patrium in Latinos odium deponerent, eorumque humanitatem et benignitatem experti, ad suos reversi non sine magno latini nominis incremento virtutes illas passim predicarent: ac velut obsides habiti qui, si quid parentes et affines greca levitate adversus Latinos molirentur, ipsi adolescentes Lutetia conclusi fuerint." Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 49, note. Taken from Bulaeus (*Hist. Univ. Paris.*, vol. iii, p. 10), who quotes from Filesacus, De Statutis Theologiae. Filesacus lived in the sixteenth century and his authority for the account is not known. Doubts of his reliability have been expressed by writers since Bulaeus, in fact the actual existence of the college at any time has been questioned. See Budinszky, pp. 70–72. Denifle makes no mention of the college whatever in his great Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. Rashdall has a short paragraph on the subject accepting substantially the story of Filesacus, vol. i, p. 486.

[2] Budinszky, pp. 71–2. (Based on Bulaeus, vol. iv, pp. 364–374.)

[3] "Quosdam pueros tam in arabica quam in aliis linguis orientalium partium peritos Parisius mitti disposuimus ad studendum, ut in sacra pagina docente vias mandatorum Domini eruditi alios in ultramarinis partibus erudiant ad salutem. Ne igitur iidem pueri, qui iam sunt decem Parisius, ab incepto studio pro necessariorum defectu desistere compellantur mandamus, etc." Denifle, *Chartularium*, vol. i, p. 212.

years thereafter occasional letters from popes to chancellors urging greater diligence in the collecting of the sums needful for the "ten poor transmarine clerks" at Paris testify to some persistence of papal interest in the project, and to the actual presence of such clerks in the university.[1] After 1286 one hears no more of the matter.[2] It is difficult to say how far results were fruitful in the missionary field. It is of more concern to our special subject to note that in the middle of the thirteenth century there were beside the two or three Dominican scholars from Greece these other young men who spoke the Oriental languages at Paris.

The next stirring of the Western conscience on the subject of religious propagandism produced a modification in methods. Possibly the failure of previous projects as well as of the religious union accomplished by the Council of Lyons may have given rise to doubts as to the reliability of Greeks as missionaries to their own countrymen. Oriental teachers were now to be brought from abroad to furnish the necessary linguistic training but the missionaries themselves were to be true born sons of the Roman Church. In the latter years of the century Raymond Lull, the philosopher and enthusiast, obtained from King James of Aragon an endowment for a convent at Palma in the island of Majorca where thirteen brothers might study Arabic in preparation for missionary careers among the Saracens.[3] During the excitement which

[1] Denifle, *Chart.* vol. i, pp. 212, 372, 638. The same documents are quoted in Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 225–7.

[2] We know of one later instance of the attendance of a Greek at Paris. Peter Philargi, a Cretan by birth, studied both there and at Oxford toward the latter part of the fourteenth century. He became identified with the West and was finally elected pope Alexander V by the Council of Pisa.

[3] For a good, brief account of Lull see Le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, vol. i. p. 28, *et seq.* Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, vol. iii, p. 578, *et seq.* King James of Aragon appears to have taken an exceptional interest for a layman in the problem of converting the East. He was the one prince to attend the sessions of the Council of Lyons. Hefele, vol. vi, p. 132.

followed the tidings of the fall of St. John d'Acre he went about Italy appealing to princes and prelates to substitute schools of Oriental languages where men might be trained to convert infidels, for the armed expeditions which destroyed much and profited little for the redemption of souls. He addressed formal letters to King Philip of France, to an ecclesiastical friend at the French court and to the University of Paris urging with intense earnestness the foundation by royal munificence of "a school of Arabic, Tartar and Greek where we might learn the speech of our adversaries, who are likewise God's, and then through preaching and teaching might overcome their errors by the sword of truth and make of them a nation acceptable to God and convert them from enemies to friends." "All the virtue contained in the books of the Greeks and the Arabs," he pleads, "will become known to you when you understand their tongues without an interpreter."[1] An ally on this subject appeared in the person of

[1] ". . . fundaretur studium Arabicum, Tartaricum et Grecum, ut nos linguas adversariorum Dei et nostrorum docti predicando et docendo illos possimus in gladio veritatis eorum vincere falsitates et reddere populum Deo acceptabilem et inimicos convertere in amicos . . . Quid habebunt boni Greci et Arabes in voluminibus suis quin sit tibi notum, cum sine interprete linguas eorum intellexeritis?" Denifle, *Chart.*, vol. ii, p. 84. All three letters are printed in Martene, *Thesaurus*, vol. i, pp. 1315–1319. A more eloquent plea for a missionary knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, made by Roger Bacon from his cell at Paris, passed quite unheeded. "Nam multi Greci et Chaldei et Armeni et Syri et Arabes et aliarum linguarum nationes subiiciuntur Ecclesie Latinorum cum quibus habet multa ordinare et illis varia mandare. Sed non possunt hec rite pertractari et, ut oportet, utiliter nisi Latini scirent linguarum huiusmodi rationem. Cuius signum est quod omnes dicte nationes vacillant fide et moribus et negligunt ordines Ecclesie salutares, quia persuasionem sinceram non recipiunt in lingua materna." *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, p. 118. "Tertio linguarum cognitio necessaria est Latinis propter conversionem infidelium. Nam in manibus Latinorum residet potestas convertendi. Et ideo pereunt Iudei inter nos infiniti quia nullus eis scit predicare nec scripturas interpretari in lingua eorum nec conferre cum eis nec disputare . . . Deinde Greci et Rutheni et multi alii schismatici similiter in errore perdurant quia non predicatur eis veritas in eorum lingua . . . Nec valet bellum contra eos quoniam aliquando confunditur Ecclesia in bello Christanorum, ut ultra mare sepe accidit,

the government lawyer, Peter Dubois. In his book "De Recuperatione Terre Sancte," put forth in 1306 he argued that no gains of the crusades could be permanent while East and West were separated by such barriers of language and religion. He advocated therefore the establishment of schools for both sexes where Greek, Arabic and other Oriental tongues should be taught, and physicians, teachers and priests should be prepared to spread in different ways the Latin faith.[1]

To return to Lull, some years passed without a tangible result of his exertions. Everywhere his orthodoxy and fervor were admitted but assistance more substantial than testimonials of character was hard to obtain. At length in the summer of 1310 the chapter general of the Dominican order, meeting at Placentia, passed a resolution which must have given him encouragement. It bore the form of a request to the master of the order to set up in some province schools of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic and to permit the brethren of each province to send one student to each school along with the proper contribution for the support of the undertaking.[2] In 1311 the old man made his way to the

et maxime in ultimo exercitu, scilicet domini Regis Francie ut totus mundus (scit). . . . Nec sic convertuntur sed occiduntur et mittuntur in infernum. Residui vero qui supersunt post bella filii eorum irritantur magis ac magis contra fidem Christianam propter istas guerras et in infinitum a fide Christi elongantur et inflammantur ut omnia mala que possunt faciant Christianis . . . Preterea fides ingressa non est in hunc mundum per arma sed per simplicitatem predicationis, ut manifestum est . . . O quam considerandum esset hoc negotium, et timendum est ne Deus requirat a Latinis quod ipsi negligunt linguas ut sic negligant predicationonem fidei!" *Op. cit.*, pp. 120–122.

[1] See De Recuperatione, p. 49 *et seq.* The plan is expanded in some detail.

[2] "Rogamus magistrum Ordinis quod ipse de tribus studiis Hebraico, Greco et Arabico provideat in aliqua provincia, et cum fuerint ordinata ad quodlibet illorum quelibet provincia studentem aptum et intelligentem mittere possit cum contributione decenti." *Mon. Ord. Praed.* vol. iv, p. 50. Denifle, *Chart.* vol. ii, p. 143. Martene *Thesaurus*, vol. iv, p. 1927.

church council assembling at Vienne hoping for further action there. He won his victory in a decree passed in the spring of 1312 directing the establishment of schools of Oriental languages in connection with the Roman Curia and the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca, "that in each place Catholic teachers may be appointed who have an adequate understanding of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldee, two men adept in each tongue,—these to preside over the schools, translate books from their own speech faithfully into Latin, teach the languages diligently to others and by painstaking instruction infuse them with knowledge," the expense to be met by contributions levied upon the churches and monasteries of the various countries.[1] The chief motive was, of course, missionary, the new translations of Oriental literature being mentioned incidentally as worthy subjects of occupation for the spare time of the professors.

How much effect the decree had upon the universities is difficult to decide in the defective condition of the records. Some small attempts at compliance were made certainly by Oxford and Paris. A few years after the meeting of the council funds were collected in England for the support of a converted Jew teaching the Hebrew and Greek languages at Oxford.[2] In 1319 and 1320 French churches were sending remittances to Paris for the use of another renegade Jew who was offering instruction in Hebrew and Chaldee.[3] In 1326

[1] "Ut in quolibet locorum ipsorum teneantur viri catholici sufficientem habentes hebraice, grece, arabice et chaldaice linguarum notitiam, duo videlicet uniuscuiusque lingue periti, qui scolas regant inibi, et libros de linguis ipsis in latinum fideliter transferentes, alios linguas ipsas sollicite doceant, earumque peritiam studiosa in illos instructione transfundant." Denifle *Chart.* vol. ii, p. 155. Friedberg in *Corp. Jur. Can.*, Clemen. V, tit. I, cap. 1, gives the text of the whole decree but prefers to omit the word "grece" from the list of languages. Denifle includes it on the ground that John XXII mentioned Greek with the rest in his letter on the decree, July 1326.

[2] Rashdall, vol. ii, p. 459, note 4.

[3] Denifle, *Chart.* vol. ii, pp. 228, 237.

Pope John XXII wrote to Hugo, Bishop of Paris, to inquire how far the ordinance of the Council of Vienne was being observed, how many teachers of the four languages had been appointed, how many students were attending their lectures and what sums had been raised for their maintenance.[1] Unfortunately the bishop's reply is lost. The Parisian archives show no other sign of attention to the decree for a century more. In 1421 we find allusions to the sad vicissitudes of one Paul de Bonnefoy, also a converted Jew and a doctor of Hebrew and Chaldee, who for lack of remuneration for his services was in want of food and clothing for his wife and children. Henry V of England during his stay in Paris had come to his relief with fifty francs and had promised him fifty more. In an appeal to Henry to remember his promise, the authorities declared that though the council ordered the appointment of several doctors of Greek and Hebrew, it was all that a single one could do to make a living by honorable means.[2] In 1424 the faculty of theology contributed sixteen soldi toward Paul's salary.[3] With this item disappears all mention of the Council of Vienne.[4] Its commands had fallen on indifferent ears and had remained practically fruitless. The West as a whole cared little for teachers from the East, paid them grudgingly or half starved them when they came.

More perhaps was done during the same centuries to keep

[1] Denifle, *Chart.* vol. ii, p. 293–4.

[2] "Cum ex antiqua ordinatione debeant esse in Universitate doctores Hebrei et Greci et de presenti solum sit unus doctor Hebreus, qui propter iniquitatem temporis vix potest victum et vestitum honeste continuare, etc." Denifle, *Chart.* vol. iv. pp. 394–5 and 401.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 430.

[4] In 1430 the Gallic nation demanded the appointment of teachers of Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee but made no reference to any missionary purpose nor to the Council of Vienne. It seems reasonable to connect this action with the rise of a humanist sentiment in France. *Ibid*, p. 505.

the knowledge of the Greek language from total extinction by colonies of Greek descent settled in the South. From the period of the iconoclastic persecutions of the ninth and tenth centuries and the flight to South Italy and Sicily of Byzantine Christians who refused to resign their images, Greek became again a living tongue in certain districts as it is yet to this day in a few mountain hamlets of Apulia and Calabria. Greek monks entered Italian monasteries or formed new congregations following the rule of St. Basil and subject in many cases to the patriarch at Constantinople. Over two hundred of these are said to have been in existence by the eleventh century.[1] In 1098 after conferring upon Duke Roger the temporal control of the kingdom of Sicily, Pope Urban II called an ecclesiastical synod at Bari to settle the affairs of the Church, and somewhat rashly entered into a debate with the Southern bishops over the nature of the Procession of the Holy Ghost.[2] The bishops defended the Greek doctrine with ability and Urban might have found himself embarrassed by their logic, had not Anselm of Canterbury been at hand to save the situation by an array of irrefutable arguments for the Roman cause. From that date the Italian churches, as a whole, yielded obedience to the See of Peter. In many, however, the liturgy was still performed in Greek and certain customs of the Greek Church were preserved, such as the use of unleavened bread in the sacrifice.[3] From them in time came ardent promoters of the union of the Greek and Latin communions. Even into Benedict's own

[1] Tozer, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 10, pp. 38–9.

[2] Hefele, vol. v, pp. 253–4.

[3] In 1426 the humanist Barbaro discovered a monastery in Tusculanum, "ubi a Graecis sacerdotibus ritu Graeco colitur Deus; quo in loco multa vetustatis monumenta Graecis et Latinis litteris illustrata invenimus; et ibi fere nemo est qui litteraturae Graecae expers sit." Barbaro, *Centotrente Lettere*, p. 70. Greek was employed in liturgies until the seventeenth century when Sixtus IV decreed that all church services should be in Latin.

convent at Monte Cassino the influence penetrated and once a year mass was celebrated in both languages.[1]

Moreover Basilian traditions favored literary employment for the monks, though the long separation from the centre of Greek activity at Constantinople inevitably resulted in a slow deterioration of the grade of work done in these remote outposts. They were not, however, aggressive bodies. They neither proselytized to any extent nor invited outsiders to their schools. As a consequence their influence in keeping Greek alive in the West was not much felt beyond their own boundaries. Only here and there a little translating was done or a little instruction imparted to one who voluntarily sought them. Alfano, who became archbishop of Salerno toward the close of the eleventh century, left behind a version of the treatise on Human Nature by Nemesius.[2] Nicholas of Tarentum at the beginning of the thirteenth century served as interpreter to the cardinal sent by Innocent III to discuss at Athens, Thessalonica and Constantinople, the ever vexed problem of church union. In 1207 he copied out for the cardinal a Greek text of the Donation of Constantine from a manuscript "in the great Palace in Constantinople." He was the author of various argumentative works on theological and metaphysical topics and translated several of his compositions into Latin.[3] Roger Bacon in the last years of the century mentions the possibility of learning

[1] Cramer, vol. i, p. 28.

[2] Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 72.

[3] A note on his copy of the Donation of Constantine ends as follows: "Τέλος τῆς διαθήκης καὶ διατάξεως τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις Κωνσταντίνου, ἣ τις ἐγράφη παρὰ Νικολάου Ὑδρουντίνου ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Παλατίῳ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει . . . . . τῇ προτροπῇ τοῦ κυροῦ Βενεδίκτου τοῦ Καρδιναλίου καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ Ἰννοκεντίου τοῦ τρίτου Πάπα Ῥώμης· ἦν γὰρ τότε ὁ προρηθεὶς Νικολάος ἑξελληνιστὴς καὶ ἑρμηνεὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καρδιναλίου καὶ τῶν Γραικῶν ἐν ταῖς τῶν περὶ δογμάτων διαλέξεσιν." Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. i, p. 295. See also Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Graec.*, vol. i, pp. 25, 60–2.

Greek in South Italy from people who used it as their ordinary speech.[1] In the fourteenth century Barlaam, a Basilian monk from Calabria, was the one Italian whom Petrarch could secure to teach him to read Plato.[2]

Beside its religious centres South Italy contained the most famous for many years of all European schools of medicine, the assemblage of lay doctors at Salerno. Even before the middle of the eleventh century some of the works of Galen and Hippocrates were utilized in old Latin translations but their influence on the crude and barbarous methods in vogue was slight. With the medical revival of the latter half of the century and the adoption of more enlightened systems of therapeutics there appear traces of a more direct acquaintance with the Greek masters, enough to justify perhaps the assumption that the teachers were consulting texts of the original.[3] Adelard of Bath, a traveller in the South during the first half of the twelfth century speaks of hearing a Greek philosopher lecture near Salerno on magnetic attraction, a subject for which the yet untranslated works of Aristotle must have been consulted.[4] In the thirteenth century Thaddeus of Florence delivered a celebrated series of medical discourses at Bologna which constituted in reality the founding of a scientific medical school in the city. He is said to have based his doctrines largely on the Arab writers but to have referred at times to the original Greek.[5]

[1] Bacon, *Opus Tert.*, p. 33; *Greek Grammar*, p. 31. According to Bacon, Grosseteste sent for monks from South Italy to help in his translations "quorum aliqui in Anglia usque ad hec tempora sunt superstites." *Comp. Stud.*, p. 434; Tiraboschi, *Stor. d. Lett. Ital.*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 343.

[2] See *infra*, p. 90.

[3] Rashdall, vol. i, p. 78–9.

[4] Adelard, *De Eodem et Diverso.* Quoted by Rashdall, vol. i, p. 8, n. 1.

[5] Rashdall, vol. 1, p. 236 and n. 3. Bandini ascribes to Thaddeus a translation of the Ethics of Aristotle. *Bib. Leop.*, vol. iii, p. 188.

From the South Italian groups of either lay or clerical scholars Frederic II, Emperor of Germany and King of Naples, obtained the "select men skilled in utterance in both languages" who translated afresh the logical and mathematical works of Aristotle for presentation to the Universities of Paris and Bologna.[1] Under Manfred, Bartholomew of Messina, a member of the court prepared a version of Aristotle's Magna Moralia and dedicated it to his royal patron.[2] In the next century Paolo Perugino collected at Naples a famous library of Greek as well as Latin manuscripts for Robert, King of Sicily and Jerusalem.[3] Thus as a figure in a king's household, a scientific lecture room or a convent library, the Greek scholar never completely disappeared from South Italy. One had to seek him in his home, however, to find or even to hear of him. He counted for practically nothing as a literary stimulus to the rest of Europe.

Nevertheless the men of the Middle Ages were not entirely confined in their knowledge of Greek to the fragments brought from the South or East by their contemporaries. Many a provincial clerk who had never in his life spoken with one who had seen Athens or Byzantium was yet able to

[1] Frederic's letter to the masters and scholars of Bologna gives his reasons for procuring the new translation: "Dum liborum ergo volumina, quorum multifarie multisque modis distincta chirographa nostrarum armaria divitiarum locupletant, sedula meditatione revolvimus et accurata contemplatione pensamus compilationes varie ab Aristotele aliisque Philosophis sub grecis arabicisque vocabulis antiquitus edite in sermocinalibus et mathematicis disciplinis nostris aliquando sensibus occurrerunt. Quas adhuc originalium dictionibus confertas et vetustarum vestium quas eis etas prima concesserat, operimento contectas vel hominis defectus aut operis ad Latine lingue notitiam non perduxit. Volentes igitur ut veneranda tantorum operum similis auctoritas apud nos non absque commodo omnis vocis organo traducte innotescat, ea per viros electos et in utriusque lingue prolatione peritos instanter iussimus verborum fideliter servata virginitate transferri." Traversari, vol. i, p. civ.

[2] Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 71. Tiraboschi, vol. iv. pt. I, p. 162.

[3] Nolhac, *Pétrarque*, p. 322.

give a tone of erudition to his book by a few Greek words or phrases, rightly or wrongly spelled, or by allusion to Greek derivations.[1] Something might be extracted from the pages of Latin literature. Certain of the classic writers, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny and others, had employed occasionally a Greek noun or adjective to express an idea which had no satisfactory equivalent in Latin, or had quoted a clause or a line from an admired Greek model. The compilers and commentators of the fifth and sixth centuries furnished information in a more didactic and explicit form. Fulgentius, for example, a clerical scholar of that later age, had drawn up in the shape of a concise encyclopedia the legends of Hellenic gods and heroes, and had explained with unhesitating reliance upon the imagination the inner significance of their names.[2] Macrobius, Servius and others of their type

[1] Roger Bacon gives a list of nearly three hundred Greek words which he says were in general use in his day, words which had been borrowed by the Romans centuries before, such as abyssus, agon, antidotum, basis, calamus, etc. He includes mistakenly some that are not Greek, imber, legio, margarita. He adds special lists of seventy-five ecclesiastical and forty scientific terms—anathema, angelus, apostolus, baptizo, Catholicus, deus, diabolus, alphabetum, problema, analytica, geometrica. *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 441–444. Of course the multitude who used the commoner words did so without any consciousness of their difference from the Latin, but scholars recognized them as non-Latin and discussed their origin and composition. They were often inclined like Bacon himself to classify as Greek any words that appeared foreign, *e. g.* "Bar grece filius latine dicitur." Abelard, in Cousin, p. 375. "Pascha non sicut quidam estimant grecum nomen est, sed hebreum." Anonymous sermon of the twelfth century. Quoted in Bandini, *Bib. Leop.*, vol. i, p. 417. See *infra*, p. 40, n. 1.

[2] I quote two typical passages. In his account of the history and functions of Neptune he remarks, "quem ideo Graece etiam Posidona nuncupant, quasi ποιοῦντα εἶδων, quod nos Latine facientem imaginem dicimus: illa videlicet ratione quod hoc solum elementum imagines in se formet spectantium." *Mythologicon* in *Mythographi*, vol. ii, p. 37. "Bellorophonta posuerunt quasi βουληφοροῦντα, quod nos Latine sapientiae consiliatorem dicimus . . . At vero Bellorophon, id est bona consultatio, qualem equum sedet nisi Pegasum? quasi pegascon, id est fontem aeternum. Sapientia enim bonae consultationis aeternus fons est." *Op. cit.*, pp. 102–3.

offered to a diligent searcher numerous similar illustrations of Greek lore.[1]

Much else had been preserved in various ways by the church. The writings of the early fathers, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, contained numerous terms taken from the theological and philosophical Greek of their time. Here and there even in the North a Greek liturgy or chant survived from the days when the Eastern and Western Churches were one and their languages interchangeable. Down to the Revolution a Greek mass was celebrated annually in the chapel of St. Denis in Paris in honor of the nationality of its reputed founder.[2] For many centuries it was common on Good Friday to chant in the churches the following verse:

"Ἅγιος ὁ θεός
ἅγιος ἰσχυρός
ἅγιος ἀθάνατος
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς."[3]

Otto, Bishop of Freising in the twelfth century, ascribes the custom to a deliverance from an earthquake by the singing of the hymn in the reign of Theodosius.[4] A peculiarly potent and solemn character might well have been attributed to the mysterious syllables. At Rome, Arles and St. Gall the Gloria, Credo and Paternoster were sung in Greek at certain services.[5] The Kyrie Eleison resounded always and

[1] "Tres modi locutionum sunt, quos caracteres Graeci vocant ἰσκνοις, qui tenuis, Addossos qui moderatus, Adhos qui validus intelligitur. Tribus modis carmen inducitur. Est enim modus arammaticos, est ammaticos, est myctos. Arammaticos est in quo personae inducuntur. Ammaticos qui et διεσ κοι dicitur in quo Poeta solus loquitur. Myctos est ex utraque constans." From an eleventh century manuscript of Servius' Commentary on Vergil. Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. ii, pp. 345–6.

[2] Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France*, vol. i, p. 49.

[3] Cramer, vol. i, p. 6.

[4] Otto Freis., *Chronicon*, p. 207.

[5] Cramer, vol. ii, p. 16. Gidel, *Nouvelles Etudes*, pp. 227–8.

everywhere. The ritual for the consecration of a church edifice required that the officiating bishop draw both the Greek and Latin alphabets with his staff in the earth outside the door.[1] In Bacon's time the bishops were frequently so ignorant of the forms of the Greek letters that, as he complains, the rite was constantly desecrated by the insertion of irrelevant or meaningless signs.[2]

A rather more extensive and varied store of information could be derived from a discriminating use of certain standard text-books, in particular the Latin grammars. Donatus, the author of the fourth century treatise which served as the foundation of most language study in the Middle Ages, often cited Greek forms in his exposition of the rules of Latin inflection and derivation.[3] In his concluding summary of rhetorical devices and figures of speech he introduced a bristling array of polysyllabic terms taken from the Greek grammarians, accompanying each with definition and illustration. The youthful student of the first division of the trivium doubtless looked in blank dismay at words such as cacosyntheta, perissologia, episynaliphe, homoeoteleuton. But the perserving searcher after knowledge might extract from his Donatus some conception of a few simple rules for the formation of Greek nouns and the meaning of various prepositions and roots in composition. He would find less light on the Greek verb which seems to have been ordinarily

[1] A sort of mystical or magical interest attached to the Greek alphabet which was studied by men who knew nothing of Greek. Vincent of Beauvais gives the forms of the alphabet and explains the hidden significance of certain letters. Υ stands for human life, Ο means death, "nam iudices eandem literam apponebant ad eorum nomina quos supplicio afficiebant, et dicitur tetha apothoy tanathom, id est a morte." Τ reminds one of the shape of the Lord's cross, Α and Ω were applied by Christ to himself. *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 65.

[2] Bacon, *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, pp. 117–8. *Gk. Grammar*, pp. 25, 83, and lxxiii.

[3] See Donatus, *Ars Grammatica*, *passim*.

regarded as too unlike the Latin to be profitable for comparison.

Yet more could be gained by an intelligent perusal of the second grammatical classic of the age, the Institutions of Priscian, an elaborate work in eighteen books, composed at the opening of the sixth century. The author lived and taught for some years in Constantinople and said of himself that he but put into Latin the principles which he had learned from the Greek grammarians.[1] He referred constantly to these models, especially Dyscolus and Herodian. His allusions to Greek usage were throughout exceedingly numerous and exact. Under favorable circumstances one might cull enough from these pages to construct most of the Greek rules for noun declension and to have ideas on the treatment of verb stems and on certain departments of syntax. Illustrative quotations from Greek writers, chiefly Homer, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes and the dramatists, were introduced plentifully in the last book and invited to exercise of ingenuity in reading. In short with a fairly accurate copy of Priscian in his hands any scholar with a taste for linguistics could by a moderate amount of exertion collect those odds and ends of Greek lore which surprise the modern reader of a twelfth century composition and which at first sight seem to indicate a real grasp of the language. Before wondering, however, why the mass of students remained so ignorant one must remember that the average scribe was too careless or too clumsy to copy exactly what

[1] "Conatus sum pro viribus rem arduam quidem, sed officio professionis non indebitam, supra nominatorum praecepta virorum quae congrua sunt visa in Latinum transferre sermonem, collectis etiam omnibus fere, quaecumque necessaria nostrorum quoque inveniuntur artium commentariis grammaticorum, quod gratum fore credidi temperamentum, si ex utriusque linguae moderatoribus elegantiora in unum coeant corpus meo labore faciente, quia nec vituperandum me esse credo si eos imitor qui principatum inter scriptores Graios artis grammaticae possident." Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, pp. 1–2.

he did not understand, and that in consequence the average text was marred by gaps and illegibilities or downright errors, particularly in the reproduction of letters in an unknown alphabet. A word or an ending here and there was doubtless all that the ordinary reader deciphered out of the obscurity.[1]

A century after Priscian, Isidore, Bishop of Seville, reduced all necessary knowledge to the compass of an encyclopedia of twenty books, which was likewise to become one of the popular storehouses of medieval learning. A resident of Spain, he knew snatches of the colloquial Greek of his day, and declared that in addition to the four ancient dialects there was another "the common, in which everyone speaks."[2] His first book, which treated of grammar, contained the Greek alphabet, a collection of Greek metrical terms and signs and a few illustrations of Greek parts of speech. Otherwhere scattered through his chapters were Greek derivations, some sufficiently correct, others as fantastic as that of the word sibyl, constructed from an Aeolic Σιός, God, and βουλή, a person who explains the will of God to men,[3] or again that of the word elephant from λόφος, "because he is shaped like a mountain."[4]

[1] For errors in a tenth century copy of Priscian, see Thurot, *Notices* pp. 66–7. Bacon speaks of a common mistake in copying and reading Priscian, taking ὁ αὐτός as ολιτος. *Gk. Grammar*, p. 164.

[2] "κοινή, id est mista sive communis, qua omnes utuntur." Isidore, *Etymologiae* col. 326.

[3] "Proinde igitur, quia divinam voluntatem hominibus interpretari solebant, Sibylle nominate sunt." *Ibid.*, col. 309. The deterioration of even these poor Greek forms through the incapacity of medieval scribes is illustrated by a passage from Vincent of Beauvais, who in the thirteenth century repeated this derivation. With him Σιός has become sibos and βουλή, belen. "Nam sibos Eolico sermone deus, belen Greci mentem nuncupant." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 102. Note also Mathew Paris' version of this same derivation, *Chron. Mai.*, vol. i, p. 51.

[4] "Quod formam montis preferat. Grece enim mons λόφος dicitur." *Etymologiae*, col. 436.

The example set by Donatus, Priscian, Isidore and others of broadening the view of Latin grammar by frequent reference to the Greek was followed by the authors of the metrical text-books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which to a considerable extent superseded the older works in general favor. Alexander, a Frenchman from Ville Dieu, about the year 1200 composed a Doctrinale in hexameter verse which soon enjoyed a wide vogue in the schools of Northern Europe.[1] In the opening lines he announced his purpose of writing especially for the "new little clerks . . . and even to boys the greater part will be plain."[2] Yet he felt obliged to insert in places the standard Greek illustrations reproduced from the older grammars. He supplied doggerel rules for case endings in the singular number, omitting as a rule any consideration of the plural.

"With nominative in e the Greek has genitive es,
The fourth case em or en, and the rest as the nominative,
With nominative in os, the genitive then is the same,
Or changes to oy in Greek, (for example melos and meloy)
With om in the fourth case, os in the fifth, and o in the last."[3]

He gave a hasty word to Greek verbs and syntax, mentioned a few derivations and crowned all with the customary

[1] Rashdall, vol. i, p. 436.

[2] "Scribere clericulis paro Doctrinale novellis . . .
Si pueri primo nequeant attendere plene,
hic tamen attendet, qui doctoris vice fungens,
atque legens pueris laica lingua reserabit;
Et pueris etiam pars maxima plana patebit."
Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale*, p. 7, lines 1, 7–10.

[3] "Cum dedit e Grecus recto, tenet es genitivus,
Em aut en quartus; recto reliquos sociamus,
Cum Greci rectus tenet os, par est genitivus,
Vel dat oy Grecus (melos et meloy tibi testis)
Quartus on, os quintus, o tertius atque supremus."
Doctrinale, lines 338–342.

list of rhetorical terms, homozeuxis, efflexegesis and the like, which he ingeniously contrived to fit into the meter. One perceives that these disjointed, futile bits of Greek lore had become the traditional accompaniments of any compendium of the Latin language.[1] They had ceased to be accurate, had ceased, one would suppose, to be edifying but they were still preserved.

A Flemish contemporary of Alexander, Eberhard of Bethune, was the author of a grammatical poem in hexameters and elegiacs, which boasted the title Grecismus and included a chapter devoted particularly to Greek derivations. According to his own slightly grandiloquent description it told "what were the voices of Greece and of Latium and what meaning they bore."[2] Before the close of the fourteenth century it was prescribed by some of the leading universities of Europe for the course in grammar.[3] A rough translation of a few lines will indicate the character of the work.

"Universal is catha, from that is catholic,
And auricalcon proves to us that calcon is a torch.
En signifies the contrary, and hence elencus comes.
The goat is called egle, therefrom the eclogue takes its name.
Lectos in Greek is quiet rest, we have Allecto thence,
And melody we say because melos itself is sweet.

[1] The proper names which garnished the illustrative sentences were a part of this Greek tradition. Almost never were they medieval or even Roman. "Concesso quod tu melior sis quam Plato" (*Doctrinale* line, 1543), is a simple example. Socrates was a name often employed.

[2] "Grecismus recitat, peperit quas Grecia voces
Quas Latium dat, que significata ferant."
Eberhard, *Carmen de Versificatione;*
quoted in Gottlieb, *Mittelalt. Bib.*, p. 445.

[3] The Grecismus and Doctrinale were prescribed as grammatical text-books by the university statutes of 1328 at Toulouse, of 1366, at Paris, and of 1389, at Vienne. Thurot, p. 102, n. 5.

Then morphos signifies a change, hence metamorphoses,
Orge the tilling of the soil, we get Georgics so."[1]

The material was drawn in part apparently from Priscian and the fanciful etymologies of Isidore.

The end of the thirteenth century, indeed, saw the composition of a true Greek Grammar written in Latin for the instruction of Latins, a serious attempt at a comprehensive discussion of all the fundamentals of the languge from the Western standpoint. Roger Bacon, the sturdy philosopher and educational critic, had long urged the desirability of reviving the study of the more ancient tongues, especially Greek and Hebrew. Alone among the scholars of his day he persistently asserted the folly of a state of complacent satisfaction with translations and the need of a working knowledge of Greek if one would understand even the principles of Latin.[2] Some time during the latter years of his life he composed a manual of Greek grammar of considerable length, if we may judge by the proportions of the fragment which survives. Two out of its three parts were devoted to a

[1] "Universale catha; fit catholicus inde;
Atque fecem calcon auricalcon probat esse.
En contra signat; hinc et elencus erit.
Est egle capra; hinc egloga nomen habet.
Est lectos requies; Allecto dicitur inde,
Estque melos dulcis ac inde melodia dicas,
Immutat morphos; hinc metamorphoseos.
Orge cultura est; dic inde Georgica nasci."
Quoted by Thurot, pp. 109–110.

The following lines show how Latin or Hebrew words might be taken as Greek:

"Estque bonum manon; immanis comprobat illud.
Dic pitos esse viam; dicas hinc compita nasci.
Quod bar filius est probat illud Bartholomeus,
Sabbata sunt requies; probat hoc Iudeus Apella."
Ibid., p. 110.

[2] Bacon, *Op. Maius*, vol. iii, pp. 80, *et seq.* *Op. Tert.*, pp. 88, *et seq.*

painstaking treatment of orthography, prosody and accentuation, and included a list of correct forms of Greek words used in Latin, azymus, amethystus, basyleus, gymnasium,[1] another list of words which in the author's opinion should be written with an aspirated letter, Achademia, Athlas, methaphora, thanathos,[2] and a long array of quotations from Latin poets to illustrate the right and wrong accentuation of Greek derivatives.[3] Texts of the Paternoster, Ave Maria, Credo, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis and Benedictus were given in Greek, in a Latin transliteration, and in the usual Latin version for use as reading lessons.[4] Interspersed among all this matter were full discussions of general rules, Greek usage being interpreted as far as possible by the Latin. Constant reference was made to Priscian and the influence of his method and spirit was patent throughout.[5] The third section dealing with the subject of inflections is now unfortunately much mutilated. The part treating of the first and second declensions and the simpler forms of the third is lost, together with that which contained the conjugation of the μι paradigm τίθημι, following on the conjugation of the ω model, τύπτω. Everything that may have come afterwards is also gone, including any disquisitions upon syntax.[6]

The sources for Bacon's exceptional knowledge of Greek have been always problematic. He offers no explanation

[1] Bacon, *Gk. Grammar*, pp. 61–78.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 133–140.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–128.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–24.

[5] See continual allusions to Priscian in the *Grammar*, "Sicut Priscianus docet," p. 4, "Secundum Priscianum," p. 5, etc. He was also indebted often where he did not expressly say so.

[6] A somewhat similar, though less systematic and still less complete exposition of Bacon's ideas on Greek etymology and prosody, with criticisms on the prevalent errors of the time, may be found in *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 432–519.

for his attainments, so that one is driven to conjecture with the aid of a few vague hints. A peculiarly careful and successful study of a clear text of Priscian gave him much. He drew suggestions also from Donatus, Isidore, Bede and other writers on language. Aside from these, the common property of any medieval scholar, he evidently had access to rarer authority. He probably did not know Herodian at first hand, in spite of the two quotations he boasted from the Alexandrian grammarian,[1] but he assuredly was familiar with some later Byzantine manual some one of the small grammatical catechisms or "Erotemata," which presented the rules of earlier philologists in a condensed and abridged form. His paradigms are those of the Byzantine schools, comprehending certain rarely used nouns and the verb τύπτω. The latter he conjugates through all imaginable forms, placing ἐάν before the subjunctive mood as did the Byzantines.[2] His reading material, the Paternoster, Ave and Creed, is the same as that commonly employed in the Greek text-books. The Creed, is the Eastern Creed and lacks the clause, "καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ."[3] Finally he refers now and again explicitly to a "grecus," and in his chapters on inflection, where Priscian failed him and a Greek manual would be practically his only guide, he quotes occasionally fragments of questions and answers.[4] Perhaps he had seen the "Greek Donatus" brought back from Athens by John of Basingstoke. He

[1] *Gk. Grammar*, pp. 46 and 55.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. lx, *et seq.* *Cf.* Heiberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. ix, pp. 472, *et seq.*

[3] *Gk. Grammar*, p. 20.

[4] "Si sequar grecos auctores in grammatica eorum." *Op. cit.* p. 165. "Et si grecus querat ποσα σχηματα dicemus tria, απλουν, quod est simplex, συνθετον, quod est compositum, παρασυνθετον, qnod est decompositum," etc., p. 152. "Querit igitur grecus τιπτω, ποιον μέρους λόγου ἐστι; ρηματος .ποίας εγκλίσεως; ὁριστικῆς," etc. p. 173. He describes the "morem grecum," mode of instruction by questions and answers, p. 171.

certainly knew Grosseteste, and mentions the "books on Greek grammar" which had been imported by him from the East.[1] The pronunciation which he gives for the Greek of the Paternoster, Ave and other extracts proves also that he had heard the spoken Greek of the day with its tendency toward slighting the distinction between vowel sounds.[2] He may have listened to Basingstoke or some other travelled monk who worked for Grosseteste, or to some one of the Oriental clerks studying in Paris.

The sum of Bacon's achievements in Greek is, therefore, considerable. He had a fair comprehension of the rules of etymology and probably of syntax as formulated by Greek philologians of his own or an earlier time. He could declare emphatically that a treatise on grammar, attributed by many of his contemporaries to Aristotle, was the product of some Latin author who wrote "out of his own head," not from the Greek standpoint at all but as a bungling, ill-taught Westerner.[3] Of his own Grammar he could say that it was a simple, introductory hand-book, designed to enable the student merely to understand Greek allusions in Latin

[1] *Op. Tert.*, p. 91.

[2] I quote an example from the *Magnificat:*

"Kathile dunastas apo thronon ke ypsose tapinus pinontas eneplisen
καθεῖλε δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων καὶ ὑψωσε ταπεινοὺς πεινοντας ἐνεπλησεν

agathon ke plutuntas exapestile kenus, antelaueto israil pedos autu
ἀγαθῶν καὶ πλουτοῦντας ἐξαπεστειλε κενοίς, ἀντελάβετο ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ

mnistine eleus kathos elalise pros tus pateras imon to Auraam ke to
μνησθῆναι ἐλέους καθῶς ἐλάλησε πρὸς τοῖς πατερας ἡμῶν τῶι αβραὰμ καὶ τῶι

spermati autu eos eonos." *Gk. Grammar*, p. 21.
σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος."

[3] "Non potest esse Aristotelis ut estimatur a pluribus, nec alicuius greci, quia non traditur greca grammatica secundum formam grecam, immo magis secundum latinam; licet aliqua greca aliquando ibi tangantur. Sed constat grecam grammaticam more greci ab autoribus tradi. Non igitur fuit hic tractatus factus in greco, nec a greco translatus, sed aliquis latinus ipsum ex proprio capite compilavit. . . . Instrui indiget in grammatice rudimentis." *Gk. Grammar*, p. 57.

writers, to be followed and supplemented by a larger work.[1]

But in spite of his acquaintance with the structure and paraphernalia of the language Bacon gives no indication in his works of any ability to read Greek outside of grammars and dictionaries. He finds grave fault with current translations of Aristotle or of the Scriptures, but he bases his strictures on the well known incompetence of the translators or on the corruption and contradiction of Latin texts rather than on flaws detected by comparison with a Greek original. In short his proficiency, remarkable as it is, seems, for all he reveals to the contrary, to have extended scarcely beyond what he calls the third degree of knowledge, namely, the power to read and comprehend the references to Greek contained in the works of philosophers, theologians and grammarians, and to practice the rules of inflection. It stops distinctly short of the first and second degrees, which indeed he himself declares to be out of the reach of all but a few among the Greeks, the power to use the language freely and correctly as one's mother tongue and the power to translate from it accurately and clearly.[2] As far as I am aware there

[1] "Hic tractatus est introductorius in grammaticam grecam quam in maiori tractatu meo poterunt perspicere studiosi. Nec est neccssitas latino revolvere omnes coniugaciones ut intelligat textum latinum in omni facultate, cum exposicionibus sanctorum et philosophorum et autorum grammatice et poetarum et ceterorum sapientum, pro qua exposicione facio tractatum istum." *Op. cit.*, pp. 171–2.

[2] "Nam consideret vestra sapientia quod in linguarum cognitione sunt tria; scilicet ut homo sciat legere et intelligere ea que Latini tractant in expositione theologie et philosophie et lingue Latine . . . Sed aliud est in linguarum cognitione, scilicet ut homo sit ita peritus quod sciat transferre . . . Tertium vero est difficilius utroque, scilicet quod homo loquatur linguam alienam sicut suam." *Op. Tert.*, pp. 65–6. "Sed tertius gradus hic eligendus est qui facillimus est habenti doctorem, scilicet ut sciamus de his quantum sufficit ad intelligendum, que requirit Latinitas in hac parte. Et vis huius rei stat in hoc: ut homo sciat legere grecum et hebreum et cetera, et ut secundum formam Donati sciat accidentia partium orationis." *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 433–4.

is no proof that Bacon ever read any Greek beside text-books. His grammar and his chapters elsewhere on the use of Greek miss the flavor and variety which citations from a wider literature would have supplied. As a stimulus to a more general study of the language his grammar, as far as one can now tell, was a failure. A few copies of it were made in the course of time. One dating from the fourteenth century found its way to Oxford, another to Cambridge, a third of the sixteenth century to the library at Douai, but they all lay forgotten and unread.[1] Even the existence of the book was doubted by scholars until within the last few years. It is valuable, accordingly, not as a source of information drawn upon by the Middle Ages, but as an indication of the amount of knowledge which it was possible in that period for one man of tireless enthusiasm to obtain.

The foregoing pages suggest briefly the main channels by which a knowledge of the Greek tongue was conveyed to the

[1] *Gk. Grammar*, pp. lxv, lxvi, lxx, lxxi. A fifteenth century catalogue of the library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, contains a notice of "pars quedam grammatice grece Baconis," included in a volume of mathematical tables given to the Abbey by one John of London. This John may perhaps be identified with Bacon's promising pupil of the same name. James, pp. 325, lxxiv lxxvii. In 1344 the English prelate, Richard de Bury, wrote a pleasant little treatise on books. In one chapter he dilates upon the desirability of a study of Greek. His language reminds the reader of Bacon's, although the reasons he urges in support of his opinion are more literary in character and less philological. "What would Vergil, the greatest poet of the Latins, have done if he had not plundered Theocritus, Lucretius and Homer, or ploughed with their heifer? . . . The creeds we chant are the sweat of the Greeks, declared in their councils and confirmed by the martyrdom of many . . . We draw this conclusion from what has been said, namely, that the ignorance of the Greek language is at this day highly injurious to the study of the Latins, without which the doctrines of either the ancient Christians or Gentiles cannot be comprehended." After a reference to the inefficacy of the decree of the Council of Vienne he concludes with the statement that he has at least provided Greek and Hebrew grammars for the use of his scholars. *Philobiblion*, cap. x, pp. 70–2. It is not impossible that the author had been procuring copies of Bacon's works. But he does not himself seem to have learned Greek from them, and no record as yet has shown that any of his pupils did.

West in the Middle Ages and the extent and character of this knowledge. The modern student of the situation is struck most perhaps by the almost absolute dearth among the greatest scholars of ability or inclination to read Greek. Library catalogues joined to the mention of an ancient manuscript the phrase, "Greca sunt, non describuntur." University doctors lecturing upon texts in law or philosophy passed over quotations with the comment, "Grecum est, non legitur." A limited acquaintance with Greek roots derived principally through grammars and etymologies was not rare in literary circles. Greek titles gave an air to compositions in Latin; witness the Rhetorimachia of Anselm of Bisate, the Metalogicus and Polycraticon of John of Salisbury, the Philobiblion of Richard de Bury, the Megacosmus and Microcosmus of Bernard Silvester of Tours and numerous others. Students of etymology were captivated by the opportunity of exercising their fancy in juggling with derivations. Gervais of Tilbury found in the word Academy "the sorrow of the people."[2] Matthew Paris ascribed to the Athenians a claim to immortality in their very name.[3]

[1] "Et non solum nocivum est, valde verecundum est, quando inter omnes sapientes Latinorum prelati et principes non inveniunt unum hominem qui unam literam Arabicam vel Grecam sciat interpretari nec uni nuntio respondere, sicut aliquando accidit." Bacon, *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, p. 120. Philip of Harveng, abbot of Bonne-Espérance in the twelfth century, a great lover of literature, writes to a friend: "Cum enim pluribus et dissimilibus linguis Deus uti velit diversas hominum nationes . . . eam linguam, nisi fallor quodam reverentie et amoris privilegio vult preferri, quam versari inter sacra ecclesiatica et ad posteros literis vult transferri. Unde etsi Hebrea et Greca eo date sunt ordine patribus ab antiquo, tamen quia non usu sed fama sola ad nos quasi veniunt de longinquo, eisdem valefacto ad Latinam presentem noster utcumque se applicat intellectus." *Epistolæ*, xvii. *Migne*, vol. 203, p. 154.

[2] He derived it probably from ἄχος δήμου. See Egger, vol. i, p. 85.

[3] He makes the word Anthenian from ἀ privative and θάνατος. *Chron. Mai*, vol. v, p. 286. He may have derived the suggestion from Fulgentius, who says, "Minerva denique et ἀθήνη grece dicitur, quasi ἀθάνατος πάρθενος, id est immor-

Nevertheless it seems safe to say that hardly a scholar who had not lived in the South or East ever acquired the skill to read Greek at all, as we understand the term, or to translate. Greek manuscripts were not copied in the cloisters. The few that were unearthed when the humanists of the fifteenth century set about the search were chiefly of ancient or Oriental origin with the exception of the crude bilingual glossaries.[1] The patois in which the Venetian trader chaffered over his wares when he touched at an Eastern port or the crusader asked for a night's lodging on the road was as far to all intents and purposes from the Greek of the classics as is the garbled Hindustanee of the casual Indian civilian from the language of the Vedas.[2] What little was accomplished in the study and interpretation of ancient texts was mainly the work of a small number of churchmen who studied for special motives abroad or hired the services of an Oriental to translate certain didactic or religious books particularly

talis virgo, quia sapientia nec mori poterit nec corrumpi." *Mythologicon*, in *Mythographi*, vol. ii, p. 68. Bacon, who touches on so many phases of this subject, has some curious examples of confused derivations in the dictionaries of Hugutio, Brito and Papias, *e. g.* "Iiugutio et Brito errant horribiliter in hoc nomine idiota. Dicunt enim quod dicitur ab idus, quod est divisio, et iota, quod est litera alphabeti, quasi divisus a literis et illiteratus; vel ab idus et ota, quod est auris, quasi divisus ab aure, quia quod audit non intelligit; vel ab othis, quod est mos, et idos, quod est proprium, quasi ignorans morem proprie terre et gentis. Sed absurda sunt hec et falsa. Nam idion est proprium, a quo idioma, id est proprietas loquendi, et idiotes, qui naturali sensu et propria lingua contentus est, et sic et-idiota sicut scribit Beda, Act. quarto. etc." *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 460–1.

[1] Egger, vol. i, p. 44. *Cf. supra*, p. 18. Greek manuscripts in the monasteries were frequently psalters. See examples in Becker, *Catalogi*, pp. 172 and 267, Omont, *Fac-Similés*, passim. A Greek copy of the Epistles of Paul was at Corbie in the thirteenth century, (Becker, p. 283.) and one of the Octoteuch at Christ Church, Canterbury. (James, p. l, xxxvi.)

[2] "Multi vero inveniuntur qui sciunt loqui Grecum et Arabicum et Hebreum inter Latinos, sed paucissimi sunt qui sciunt rationem grammatice ipsius, nec sciunt docere eam: tentavi enim permultos. Sicut enim laici loquuntur linguas quas addiscunt et nesciunt rationem grammatice, sic est de istis." Bacon, *Op. Tert.*, p. 33.

desired by scholars of the West. These translators, as a rule, comprehended too dimly the tongue with which they were dealing to make their versions lucid or idiomatic.[1] Finally the reputation of Greek as a singularly difficult language tended to discourage any incipient interest in a subject so formidable of approach.[2] No incentive offered for its cultivation was effective or lasting. A new enthusiasm and a different attitude of mind were needed before Greek should once more be read and loved by men of letters throughout the West.

[1] The following extract illustrates the style of one of the most prominent translators, William of Moerbeka. "Omnia utique ex Providentia erunt et malum habet locum in entibus. Quare et faciunt dii malum sed tanquam bonum, et cognoscunt, ut omnium unialem habentes cognitionem, impartibiliter quidem partibilium, boniformiter autem malorum, unialiter autem multitudinis. Alia enim anime cognitio et alia intellectualis nature, alia deorum ipsorum: hic quidem omni *αὐτοκίνητος*, id est ex se mobilis; hic autem eternalis cognitio, hic autem indicibilis et unialis, ipso uno omnia et cognoscens et producens." From Proclus, *De Malorum Subsistentia.* Quoted in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xxi, p. 150.

[2] Priscian alludes to the inflections of the Greek verb in a way to daunt the hardiest. *Inst. Gram.*, vol. i, pp. 420, 442, 445–7, etc. Bacon in his grammar remarks, "Coniugaciones vero non omnes ponam in hoc tractatu, sicut a principio dictum est, propter gravitatem multitudinis earum et superfluam difficultatem intelligendi eas, quia novicius addiscens grecas coniugaciones vix unam recipiet patienter, et quia hic tractatus est introductorius in grammaticam grecam." *Gk. Grammar*, p. 171. A thirteenth century characterization of Arabic, Greek and Latin runs as follows, "tedium verbositatis arabice, implicationis grece, paucitas quoque exarationis latine." *Hist. Litt. de la France*, vol. xxi, p. 144.

CHAPTER II

OF the contents of Greek literature, the history, science, philosophy and art of the Hellenic race, the West possessed all this time certain imperfect, disconnected fragments. In a broad sense of course, the Middle Ages could not feel the power of Roman learning and civilization nor yield obedience to the dogmas of the church without thereby submitting unconsciously to the Greek intellect which had been the teacher of republican and imperial Rome, and had formulated the theology of the early fathers. But Greek influences of that larger and subtler type were practically unrecognized and do not concern us here. A more conscious, if not always more direct acquaintance with Greek letters remained as a part of the Latin literary inheritance and of that we have now to speak.[1]

Certain unforgettable myths and stories, certain stirring portions of history and tradition were preserved from the treasure houses of Greek imagination and remodelled to suit medieval purposes and standards of taste. In the former class stood Esop's Fables, which had a wide circulation in a tenth century prose paraphrase of the Augustan verse of Phaedrus. The author of this later version assumed the name of Romulus and prefaced his book with a dedication to a suppostitious son, Tyberinus, doubtless to give the

[1] The relations of later Byzantine literature, martyrology and romance to the Western world form a separate subject and cannot be discussed here. A suggestive short essay is Döllinger, *Akad. Vorträge*, vol. i, pp. 163–186, translated into English in Döllinger's, *Studies in European History*. On the Greek Physiologus see Gidel, *Nouvelles Études*, pp. 401–443.

whole a classical atmosphere. Accordingly the work was sometimes assigned to Romulus Augustulus, the last Western Emperor. In the course of the verseloving twelfth century many of these and similar tales were put back into Latin or vernacular poetry.[1] The lady Marie de France retold them in French rhyme, informing us the while that King Henry, "who loved them much," had turned them into English.[2] They were used to lighten the tedium of sermons where rough wit was not considered out of place.[3] Boccaccio relates that Robert, King of Jerusalem, was in boyhood first aroused to any show of interest in literature by a sagacious tutor who put into his hands the Fables of Esop.[4]

From the time of St. Augustine and Orosius every chronicler who introduced his narrative with a sweeping survey of the world's development previous to his own generation included in the account certain data which represented Greek history. The deeds of gods and heroes of the epic age and

[1] Walter Anglicus and Alexander Neckam were authors of versions in Latin elegiacs. Neckam's Esop is in Du Meril, *Poésies Inédites*, pp. 169 *et seq.*

[2] "Ysope apele on icest liure
Qu'il translata et sut escrire;
De greu en latin le torna
Li rois Henris qui mult ama
Le translata puis en englois,
Et ion l'ai rimé en françois,
Si com gel trouai proprement."
Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latines*, vol. i, p. 616.

[3] Vincent of Beauvais, the encyclopedist of the thirteenth century, gives a resumé of twenty-nine of these fables and adds the comment: "Hec de fabulis esopi exerpere volui, quas et si forte plurium liceat (?) in sermonibus publicis recitare, quod et nonnulli prudentium faciunt propter audientium tedia relevanda, qui talibus delectantur; simul et propter integumenta subiunctaque aliquid edificationis habere videntur. Nunquam tamen nisi caute et parce id estimo faciendum, ne qui verbis sacris ad luctum penitentie deique devotionem provocari debent, ipsi per huiusmodi nugas in risum magis atque lasciviam dissolvantur." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 8.

[4] *De Gen. Deor.*, lib. xiv, cap. 9. Hecker, *Boccaccio-funde*, p. 218.

the exploits of Alexander of Macedon were principally emphasized. The time between was treated chiefly as the age of the philosophers, The politics of Hellenic city states would naturally prove baffling to the monkish recluse or the feudal knight and were therefore for the most part passed over with scarcely a word. Even the Persian wars and the age of Pericles were slighted or altogether ignored.[1] The works of the Attic historians were unknown.[2] Information

[1] Orosius, who wrote about 415 A. D. and was used as an authority on ancient history during the whole medieval period, knew something of the older historians, Pausanias and Strabo, and gives a fairly elaborate account of Greek history. But even he confuses the chronology and events of the fifth century. *Historiarum*, lib. ii, pp. 44, *et seq.*, 52, *et seq.* Isidore of Seville in his Chronicon speaks of the Minotaur, the Gorgon, the siege of Troy. He then enumerates the names of the lawgivers, Lycurgus and Solon, the philosophers and poets, Pythagoras, Pindar, Eschylus, Herodotus, Socrates and Plato and proceeds to the reign of Alexander. *Migne*, vol. 83, pp. 1027–1035. Ekkehard of Aura, the author of the great chronicle of the eleventh century, makes hardly a mention of events between Troy and Philip and Alexander. *Migne*, vol. 154, pp. 507–605. Otto of Freising, who wrote in the twelfth century and took especial pains with the earlier part of his narrative, confounds the incidents of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. The latter he describes as another attempt of the Persians to ruin Athens. *Chronicon*, p. 79. In the next century the voluminous history of Vincent of Beauvais rehearses at length the fables of Cecrops, Io, the judgment of Paris, relates a moral anecdote regarding Pisistratus and various episodes of the fifth century wars and the career of Themistocles. There is no attempt at explanation of motive or causal sequence, simply a series of marvellous or edifying tales. *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii and iv.

[2] Even their names were largely forgotten. Vincent of Beauvais who gives us the most diffuse of medieval accounts of Greece and who alludes to ancient writers when he can, says not a word of Herodotus or Thucydides. He speaks of Xenophon as the pupil of Socrates, and adds, "Xenophon (ut dictum est) vitam Persarum VIII voluminibus describens, polenta et cardamo et sale ac pane Persas asserit victitare." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 67. In his notice of Artaxerxes, "Huius anno regni VIII annotatur in cronicis Eusebii Cyri regis ascensus quem scribit Xenophon, sed nec librum umquam illum vidisse me memini, nec quis ascensus iste fuerit uspiam legi. Hieronymus dicit quod Xenophon vitam Cyri in VIII voluminibus descripsit." *Ibid*, cap. 64. As to Plutarch Vincent knew that he wrote a letter to Trajan on the duties of a prince and a treatise on moderation among magistrates, "qui inscribitur archigrammatio." *Ibid*, lib. xi, cap. 48.

was culled where it could be from Latin authors, chiefly those of the later Empire.[1] But simple as well as learned might know of Hercules and Jason and Atlas who bore the skies upon his shoulders. Those who could not read might hear the minstrel sing of them along with Tristan or Roland of Huon of Bordeaux.[2] As scientific a student as Roger Bacon accepted the myths and attempted to rationalize them by stripping away the supernatural elements.[3] They were a part of the common intellectual property of the age as they had been of the age before. Especially popular were the

[1] The authorities quoted by Vincent of Beauvais for his Greek narrative are Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius, Dares, Helinand (a lost work), Pliny, Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Symmachus, Boethius, Horace, Seneca, Justinus, Solinus, Jerome, Tertullian, Lactantius, Macrobius, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Marcian, Hermes Trismegistus.

[2] A list of Greek themes celebrated in medieval song is given in a French poetic romance of the thirteenth century, entitled Flamenca. An assembly of minstrels at a royal feast are singing in turn.

"Quar l'us comtet de Priamus,
E l'autre diz de Piramus;
L'us contet de la bell' Elena
Com Paris l'enquer, pois l'aumena;
L'autres comtava d'Ulixes,
L'autre d'Ector et d'Achilles,
L'autre comtava d'Eneas
E de Dido consi remas
Per lui dolenta e mesquina; . . .
L'us contet d'Apollonices,
De Tideu e d'Etidiocles;
L'autre comtava d'Apolloine
Comsi retenc Tyr de Sidoine;
L'us comtet del rei Alexandri,
L'autre d'Ero et de Leandri;
L'us dis de Catmus quan fugi
Et de Tebas con las basti,
L'autre contava de Jason
E del dragon que non hac son.
L'us comte d'Alcide sa forsa,
L'autre con tornet en sa forsa
Phillis per amor Demophon;
L'un dis com neguet en la fon
Lo belz Narcis quan s'i miret;
L'us dis de Pluto con emblet
Sa bella mollier ad Orpheu; . . .
L'autre comtet con Dedalus
Sanp ben volar et d'Icarus
Co neguet per sa leujaria."
Flamenca, lines 613–697, pp. 20–2

For a suggestive discussion of Greek influences in medieval, imaginative literature, see *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. cvii, *et seq.*

[3] *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, pt. II, pp. 53 *et seq.* In Bacon's judgment the real Atlas was an enthusiastic astronomer, Prometheus a scientist and inventor, etc. In order to reconcile the stories of Apollo with probability, the god is divided into several different persons of the same name who lived at different eras. One Apollo was a dextrous musician, another a surgeon, etc.

cycles of tales which centered about the Trojan War. Poet-mongers and romancers took the ancient narratives, colored them through with medieval sentiment, read into them medieval ideas, and embellished them with fanciful additions.[1] The love story of Troilus and Cressida was perhaps the most successful product of medieval invention working on bare hints furnished by the Homeric episodes of Chryseis and Briseis. Ambitious nations, following the example of Rome herself, traced their descent from heroes who had figured in the great contest on the Scamandrian plain.[2] In the twelfth century Benedict of St. Maur told the tale of Troy in thirty thousand lines of French verse which a hundred years afterward Guido Colonna translated into Latin. In the fourteenth century Boccaccio repeated portions of it in Italian, Barbour and Henryson in Scotch, and Chaucer opened his poem of "Troilus and Criseyde" with the words,

> "It is well wist how the Grekes stronge
> In armes with a thousand shippes wente
> To Troye-wardes, and the citee longe
> Assegeden neigh ten yeer er they stente,
> And in diverse wyse and oon entente,
> The ravishing to wreken of Eleyne
> By Paris doon they wroughten al hir peyne."[3]

Not, of course, that the Middle Ages read Homer or any Greek poet, even in direct translations. The best of their knowledge of the epic legends came from late Latin abridg-

[1] See Saintsbury, *Flourishing of Romance*, pp. 174–186, Joly, *Benoit de Sainte-More*, vol. i, passim.

[2] For genealogy of the Franks see Fredegarius, *Migne*, vol 71, p. 577. Ekkehard of Aura, *Migne*, vol. 154, pp. 713–5. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii. cap. 66. For the British pedigree see Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Anglorum*, p. 13, Matthew Paris, *Chron. Mai.*, vol. i, pp. 16–22.

[3] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. I, stanza 9. For another reference to the Trojan tale in one of the best known medieval poems see *Floire et Blanceflor* pp. 19–20.

ments of translations, the worst from actual forgeries or fabrications with no foundation in any Greek original.[1] Considerable scattered information was derived also from Vergil, Ovid, Statius and other Latin poets. The nearest approach to a true reproduction of the Iliad was a composition of ten hundred and seventy lines in Latin hexameter, sometimes mysteriously known as "Pindarus Thebanus," at other times as "Ilias Latina," or, most commonly of all, as simply "Homerus."[2] The initial letters of the first eight and last eight lines form the acrostic," Italicus scripsit." The author is, therefore, now identified with a Silius Italicus of the age of Nero, who composed an epic on the Punic war. The first three hundred and forty-three lines are an abridgment of the three opening books of the Iliad. The remaining seven hundred and twenty-seven summarize the last twenty-one books, closing with eight lines of invocation to Phoebus, Pallas and Calliope. The narrative is consequently so compressed as to be in the main little more than an arid catalogue of events. Motives, connections, details of situation and character, the greater part of what gives life and meaning

[1] Vincent of Beauvais relates in all faith the story from Valerius Maximus to the effect that Homer died of mortification over his inability to solve a riddle propounded by some derisive Athenian fishermen. He adds: "Fuerunt autem qui Homerum synonimum Platoni fuisse putaverunt propter eloquentiam et pectoris latitudinem" (*Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 87), a sort of medieval equivalent for the Bacon–Shakespeare theory.

[2] "Sequitur in ordine Statium Homerus,
Qui nunc usitatus est, sed non ille verus;
Nam ille Grecus extitit Greceque scribebat,
Sequentemque Vergilium Eneidos habebat,
Qui principalis extitit poeta Latinorum;
Sic et Homerus claruit in studiis Grecorum.
Hic itaque Vergilium precedere deberet,
Si Latine quispiam hunc editum haberet.
Sed apud Grecos remanens
nondum est translatus.
Hinc minori locus est hic
Homero datus,
Quem Pindarus philosophus fertur transtulisse
Latinisque doctoribus in
metrum convertisse."

Hugo von Trimberg of the thirteenth century. Quoted by Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 167, n. 2. Joly, vol. i, pp. 151–5. Becker, *Catalogi*, index.

to the ancient story, are perforce omitted. Only here and there at a sentimental passage the writer pauses and expands his treatment even beyond Homer's, dwelling upon the point with manifest zest and a profusion of cheap conventionalities.[1] The proportions of the original are, consequently, altogether lost. Occasionally appears an actual departure from the Greek narrative, as when, in agreement with the later versions, Achilles is made to drag the dead Hector three times around the Trojan walls and Priam's stealthy errand to ransom his son's body becomes a public mission performed before the eyes of all the Greek chieftains.[2] The medieval reader, however, could but take the poem as a true and adequate rendering of Homer himself. Petrarch was the first to declare that there must be more in the great classic than what this furnished.

As companion pieces to the Ilias Latina were two other works upon the Trojan theme, which professed to be records of eye witnesses present at the siege and in that respect superior to the conceits of a blind bard who by all accounts lived at least a century later and derived his information

[1] Take, for example, the account of the grief of Chryses over the loss of his daughter:

"Nam quondam Chryses, solemni tempora vitta
Inplicitus, rapte flevit solatia nate,
Invisosque dies invisaque tempora noctis
Egit et assiduis implevit questibus auras . . .
Contemptus repetit Phœbeia templa sacerdos
Squalidaque infestis maerens secat unguibus ora
Dilaceratque comas annosaqe pectora plangit."

Poet. Lat. Min., vol. iii, pp. 8–9, lines 13–16, 27–29.

[2] "Hunc animi nondum satiatus Achilles
Deligat ad currum pedibusque exsanguia membra
Ter circum muros victor trahit."

Op. cit., p. 56, lines 997–9.

"Mirantur Danaum proceres, miratur et ipse
Æacides animum miseri senis."

Ibid., p. 57, lines 1025–6.

through hearsay.[1] The medieval public was completely hoodwinked by these professions. Its confidence in the testimony of Dictys the Cretan and Dares the Phrygian was perfect, and the delusion was one of the last to be dispelled after the Middle Ages were over. The story of Dictys was manufactured probably during the fourth century and may have had some basis in a late Greek original.[2] According to the preface, Dictys of Crete, a friend of Idomeneus and Merion, accompanied those princes to Troy and at their bidding kept a register of the events of the war, inscribing it on tablets in the Phoenician letters to which he was accustomed. At his death he ordered the tablets to be buried with him. There they remained sealed up in his tomb until an earthquake in the reign of Nero uncovered them and wandering shepherds carried them to the Roman governor. At Nero's command they were translated first into Greek, and afterwards into Latin.[3]

The history introduced with such convincing credentials of authenticity comprised six books of fair length, written in crabbed and pedantic Latin prose, and recounted the whole story of the Trojan doom from the rape of Helen to the death of Ulysses by the hand of his son Telegonus. The incidents of the Iliad formed a part of the second and third books, the wanderings of Ulysses were described with those of other heroes in the sixth. Obviously, therefore, the greater portion of the material was gathered from other sources than Homer, some possibly from ancient cyclic poets whose works

[1] "An Homero credendum, qui post multos annos natus est, quam bellum hoc gestum fuisset: de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit cum pro insano Homerus haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit." Introductory epistle to Dares the Phrygian, *Dictys Cret.*, p. 293.

[2] On the other hand the Greek rendering may be the later. At all events Dictys was known in Greek at Byzantium through the Middle Ages. Teuffel-Schwabe, *Hist. of Roman Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 375–8. Joly, vol. i, pp. 168–171.

[3] *Dictys Cretensis*, pp. 15–18.

have now disappeared. In spite of his grave faults Dictys is an abler and more interesting writer than "Pindar the Theban." He is concise but as a rule he provides more than enumerations of episodes and names. Yet he is quite as devoid of artistic sense and modifies the Homeric narrative even more freely. Taking as a test his treatment of a scene to which we have already referred in speaking of the Ilias Latina, the visit of Priam to Achilles, one is impressed by the more glaring failure of Dictys to apprehend the force and dramatic quality of the simple Greek description.[1] To his mind the thing is not made enough of. More harrowing touches and a little love interest are needed. A family procession takes the place of the solitary figure of the broken old king. A crowd of Greek leaders look on and offer advice. The conversation is prolonged into an elaborate argument over the original causes of the war.[2] The medieval student might get from Dictys some idea of the outlines of the Greek legend but nothing of its spirit.

[1] Joly, (vol. i, pp. 164-6), criticises more fully Dicty's version of this same scene.

[2] I quote part of the narrative: "At lucis principio, Priamus lugubri veste miserabile tectus, cui dolor non decus regium, non ullam tanti nominis atque fame speciem reliquam fecerat, manibus vultuque supplicibus ad Achillem venit: quocum Andromacha, non minor quam in Priamo miseratio: ea quippe deformata multiplici modo, Astyanacta, quem nonnulli Scamandrum appellabant, et Laodamanta, parvulos admodum filios, pre se habens, regi adiumentum deprecandi aderat, qui moeroribus senisque decrepitus filie Polyxene humeris innitebatur: sequebantur vehicula plena auri atque argenti precioseque vestis, cum super murum despectantes Troiani comitatum regis oculis prosequerentur: quo viso repente silentium ex admiratione oritur. Ac mox reges avidi noscere causas adventus eius procedunt obvium. Priamus ubi ad se tendi videt protinus in os ruit, pulverem atque alia humi purgamenta capiti aspergens: dein orat uti miserati fortunas suas, precatores secum ad Achillem veniant. Eius etatem fortunamque recordatus Nestor dolet: contra Ulysses maledictis insequi et commemorare que ad Troiam in consilio ante sumtum bellum ipse adversum legatos dixerat. Ea postquam Achilli nuntiata sunt, per Automedontem adversum iri iubet, ipse retinens gremio urnam cum Patrocli ossibus." *Dict. Cret.*, pp. 204–5.

The history of Dares the Phrygian was written, probably, during a later century to offset Dictys.[1] The guarantee prefixed to it was nothing less than a letter from Cornelius Nepos to his friend Sallust describing the discovery of the manuscript of Dares at Athens and his own translation of it into Latin.[2] The work itself contained the express statement that the author had been at Troy until its downfall, had taken part in some of the battles and had talked with the Greeks.[3] Other valuable proofs of genuineness were not wanting, such as personal descriptions of prominent characters on both sides, exact statistics as to numbers killed in battle, data as to the precise duration of the siege in years, months and days.[4] The story of a Trojan partisan, it gave of course the Trojan point of view, as "Homerus" and Dictys gave the Grecian. On this ground it appealed particularly to the fancy of the Western nations who claimed descent from Trojan refugees. It possessed, moreover, the virtue of thoroughness, so gratifying to the medieval mind. It went back for its beginning to the Argonautic expedition, and traced from that point down the growth of hostility

[1] Teuffel-Schwabe, vol. ii, pp. 493–4; Saintsbury, pp. 167–177; Taylor, *Classical Heritage*, p. 40.

[2] "Cum multa Athenis studiosissime agerem, inveni historiam Daretis Phrygii ipsius manu scriptam, ut titulus indicat, quam de Grecis et Troianis memorie mandavit, quam ego summo amore complexus continuo transtuli." *Dict. Cret.*, p. 293. This letter was accepted as implicitly as the history. See Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 62.

[3] "Dares Phrygius qui hanc historiam scripsit ait se militasse usque dum Troia capta est: hos se vidisse cum inducie essent, partim prelio interfuisse. A Dardanis audisse qua facie et natura fuissent Castor et Pollux," etc. *Dict. Cret.*, p. 308.

[4] "Helenam similem illis, formosam, animi simplicis, blandam, cruribus optimis, notam inter duo supercilia habentem, ore pusillo. Priamum regem Troianorum vultu pulchro, magnum, voce suavi, aquilino corpore . . . Achillem pectorosum, ore venusto, membris valentibus et magnis, bene crispatum, clementem, in armis acerrimum, vultu hilari, dapsilem, capillo myrteo." *Dict. Cret.*, pp. 308–310.

between Greeks and Asiatics. It justified the rape of Helen as a retaliation for the earlier theft of the Trojan princess Hesione. Having these characteristics in its favor it was more popular than Dictys, though as a literary performance it was considerably more insignificant and degenerate.[1] It was less than a quarter as long, notwithstanding the greater length of time which it strove to cover. In a breathless kind of haste it pressed on through a succession of short, abrupt, monotonous sentences.[2] It altered or rearranged the facts of the classic story so unscrupulously that one concludes that the author was writing from hazy memories without exerting himself to consult his books. Not only were tawdry additions made and a pseudo-romantic coloring given to the whole, but the order and motives of fundamental incidents were changed. The momentous wrath of Achilles occurred a year after Hector's death, and was occasioned by his failure to obtain Polyxena. Eneas and Anchises were traitors, and opened to the Greeks at last the Scaean gate which was marked by the painted head of a horse. The process of garbling and distortion could scarcely be carried further.[3]

Another composition stood to the Middle Ages for the tragedy literature of Eschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. It bore the title "Orestis Tragoedia," and was ordinarily as-

[1] In Becker's list of catalogues of medieval libraries twenty-one manuscripts of Homerus are mentioned, twenty-two of Dares and three of Dictys. Each copy of Dictys was bound with either Homerus or Dares. See Becker, index, *Cf. Comparetti*, pp. 244–5.

[2] The death and burial of Hector are thus disposed of. "Hector Achillis femur sauciat. Ille dolore accepto magis eum persequi coepit nec destitit nisi occideret . . . Nox prelium dirimit. Achilles de bello saucius redit. Noctu Troiani Hectorem lamentantur. Postera die Troilus Troianos educit contra Grecorum exercitum . . . Priamus Hectorem suo more ante portam sepelivit, cui ludos funebres facit." *Dict. Cret.*, p. 322.

[3] Still another less known version of the tale of Troy was called Perioikæ or Periochæ, and was attributed to Ausonius. Petrarch possessed a copy. Nolhac, *Pétrarque*, pp. 171, 321.

cribed to either Horace or Lucan.[1] It was, however, a purely narrative poem in plain hexameter verse of less than one thousand lines.[2] It covered the whole subject of the Orestean trilogy, the return of Agamemnon, his murder by the hand of Clytemnestra and Egisthus, the vengeance of Orestes, his persecution by the Furies and his final deliverance through the judgment of the high court of Athens. The style was energetic, even forcible in passages. There was, on the other hand, no appreciation of character, nothing in fact but a rude, blunt account of the brutal incidents of the old saga.[3] Like the Trojan histories it was worthless in

[1] It is now supposed by some scholars to be the work of the African poet Dracontius, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century and wrote other pieces on Biblical and classical subjects. Teuffel-Schwabe, vol. ii, p. 506.

[2] Yet the author apparently had some idea of the meaning of the term "tragedy," for he says in lines 13 and 14:

"Te rogo, Melpomene, tragicis descende cothurnis
Et pede dactylico resonante quiescat iambus."

Poet. Lat. Min., vol. v, p. 220.

But medieval writers often found difficulty in deciding upon the exact meaning of the terms tragedy and comedy. A sentence in Donatus gave rise to many conjectures and misunderstandings. "Sunt . . . alia sono masculina, intellectu feminina, ut Eunuchus comœdia, Orestes tragœdia." *Ars Gram.*, p. 375. A gloss of the tenth century thus interpreted the passage: "Intellectu feminina, quia cum dico Eunuchus, intelligo artem comedie, hoc est carmen aptum comestioni. Adeo autem usus est hanc artem Eunuchus ut proprio nomine illius illo tempore intelligeretur sua ars. Similiter Orestes cum dico, intelligo artem traguedie pro sedula usitatione illius." Thurot, pp. 67–8. For knowledge of Aristotle's Poetics, see *infra*, p. 74, n. 1.

[3] As an example of the rugged qualities of the style at its best I quote lines 700–717, describing the appearance of Orestes and Pylades before the guilty pair:

"Securi stipuere rei, terretur Egistus;
'Non ego promisi Danais per secla quietem?
Nullus ad Argolicos moveat qui bella remansit
Hectore consumto, Troia pereunte sub armis.'
Dicebat regina furens irata ministris:
'Vindico, sic vivam mecumque senescat Egistus.'
Talia dum loquitur quasi vindex seva minata,
Una puellarum male concita currit anhelans;

comparison with the originals which it represented. Yet like them it served to keep the West from forgetting entirely the nomenclature of the world of Greek imagination.[1]

As widely known as the legends of Troy and Mycenae, and as confidently accepted as reliable history, was the marvelous tale of the exploits of Alexander, commonly attributed to his comrade, Callisthenes.[2] In reality it was probably a compendium, drawn up at least as early as the second century after Christ, of the Oriental myths then current regarding the meteoric career of the youthful Macedonian. Stories of portents and miracles which in their conception had nothing to do with Alexander were later inserted to increase the wonder of the total effect. Magic and witchcraft, the water of life and the earthly paradise, golden temples and jeweled palaces, trees and birds that spoke, peoples of uncouth shapes and weird customs, criminal intrigues and ruthless warfare, all this extraordinary web of invention was

> 'Venit Orestes,' ait, sed statim credita non est.
> Dum dubitant somnumque putant et vana locutam,
> Apparet violentus atrox Pylades in aula,
> Qualis in hoste fuit trux irrevocabilis Aiax,
> Hectora dum peteret clipeo septemplice tectus:
> Ore fremens et fronte minax mucrone coruscus
> Intonat auctores scelerum; 'Crudelibus ausis
> Regnantis nunc usque truces evadere iustas
> Sperastis vos posse manus? modo seva luetis
> Supplicia scelerum non una morte pereunti!"
>
> *Poet. Lat. Min.*, vol. v, pp. 210–1.

[1] A piece of dramatic composition which preserved some traditions of the later Attic stage was the anonymous comedy of manners, Querolus. It was modeled, however, more directly upon Plautus than upon any Greek writer, as the author himself implies. See *Querolus, ed.* Havet, p. 187, line 7. It had but a limited circulation.

[2] The narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes is incorporated almost bodily into the Chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura (*Migne*, vol. 154, pp. 563 602), and into the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais (lib. v). It is abridged in many other histories.

interspersed liberally with philosophic maxims of Eastern sages and religious precepts of the Hebrews. The appeal of the whole to medieval credulity and love of the fantastic, as well as to medieval weakness for moralizing, was irresistible. No single man, with the possible exception of Charlemagne, was so much written about or played so brilliantly the part of a hero to the Middle Ages as did this pagan Greek who died of a drunken carouse a thousand years before the Middle Ages began.[1] Many a great man has been misconstrued by later generations, but few certainly have ever received so amazing a glorification, so vast a fame for words and deeds so absolutely opposed in spirit to all that they actually did and said in life.

A second department of Greek thought of which the Middle Ages knew partly through report, partly through more or less imperfect paraphrases and translations, was its philosophy. Here again curious isolated fragments were transmitted and given a disproportionate weight of influence while most of that which went before or after was totally

[1] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, included in Arriani Anabasis, ed. Didot. The number and variety of modern reprints of medieval versions of the Alexander legend suggest the extent of its popularity. Syriac and Ethiopic versions are given in the two volumes edited by Budge, *Alexander the Great*, 1889, and *Life and Exploits of Alexander*, 1896. For a thirteenth century Persian account see *Sikandar Nama e bará*, tr. Clarke, London, 1881; for an Italian rendering, *Collezione di Opere Inedite o Rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*, vol. 32; Spanish, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 57, pp. 147–224; Dutch, *Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, No. 2; French, Stuttgart, *Literarischer Verein Bibliothek*, vol. 13; German, *op. cit.*, vols. 154 and 183. Several English fragments are in *Early English Text Society Publications*, extra series, vols. 1, 31 and 47. See also Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, ed. Herrmann, Berlin, 1898. A Scotch version is contained in *Bannatyne Club Publications*, vol. 47. For general discussions of the role of the Alexander story see among others, Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age;* Noldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexander Romans*, Wien, *Akad. Philos-Hist. Classe*, vol. 38; Saintsbury, *Flourishing of Romance*, ch. iv, Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii, pp. 286–303.

lost.[1] The names of the seven sages were frequently quoted and certain vague allusions connected Thales with theories regarding a fluid origin of the universe, and Pythagoras with a system of mathematics or of music.[2] Socrates' name lingered as that of the teacher of Plato and Aristotle and the victim of a mysterious death by poison.[3] Plato himself was reverenced, but in the main blindly in deference to the respect expressed for his doctrines by Cicero, Augustine and other Latins. His influence on the growth of the early Christian dogma of the λόγος, or on the metaphysical concepts of Dionysius the Areopagite, Augustine and Boethius was not appreciated, but he was understood to have been more spiritual or Christian in his tendencies than any other

[1] A summary of the greater part of what was known or believed about the Greek philosophers was given in the Polycraticus of John of Salisbury. *Migne*, vol. 199, pp. 642-649. Vincent of Beauvais was more garrulous in the retailing of dubious anecdotes. *Spec. Hist. passim.* In this connection mention may be made of a thirteenth century Latin translation of the Hypotyposes of Sextus Empiricus, a sceptic philosopher who lived in the third century. The manuscript was discovered and described by Jourdain, *Excursions*, pp. 206 *et seq.* No traces of its influence have been observed.

[2] "Si ergo sapientiam cuiusque Plato commendet aut Socrates, Aristoteles acumen ingenii, Cicero dicendi copiam, mathematice studium Pythagoras . . . quidni credat?" John of Salis. *Poly.*, lib. iii, cap. 5, *Migne*, vol. 199, p. 484, *Cf.* Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iii, cap. 119, and lib. iv, cap. 23-6.

[3] I quote a few extracts from the most careful students of things Greek. "Et primus quidem Socrates universam philosophiam ad corrigendos componendosque mores flexisse memoratur, cum ante illum omnes physicis, id est rebus naturalibus perscrutandis maximam operam dederint." John of Salisbury, *Poly.*, lib. vii, cap. 5, p. 664. Otto of Freising referring to Plato remarks, "qui prefati Aristotelis non solum apud Socratem condiscipulus, sed et post mortem Socratis preceptor fuit." *Chron.* p. 69. He imagines that Socrates' death may have been a suicide due to despondency or troublous times. *Ibid.* p. 80. Vincent of Beauvais knows that Socrates was condemned to die but suggests that he drank poison without waiting for an executioner, "aut amore popularis glorie aut timore maioris pene." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 66. Later in the paragraph he quotes as from Lactantius, "Socrates se nihil scire dixit, nisi hoc ipsum quod nihil sciret: huic achademie disciplina intonavit, si tamen disciplina dici potest in qua ignoratio et dicitur et docetur."

pagan Greek and for that reason was sometimes said to have studied under Jeremiah, in Egypt.[1] The fact of his disagreement with Aristotle on the nature of universals was undoubtedly the item most generally known concerning him, and the knowledge added zest to the long scholastic controversy of the Middle Ages. Indeed men who opposed Aristotle for any cause whatever were apt to proclaim an allegiance to Plato none the less ardent for resting upon a basis of partisan and unreasoning faith rather than of understanding.

[1] The story of Plato's intercourse with Jeremiah can be traced back to Augustine, who attributes it to Ambrose (*Retractionum*, lib. ii, cap. 30, p. 136), but who in another passage remarks, "diligenter subputata temporum ratio quae chronica historia continetur Platonem indicat a tempore quo prophetavit Hieremias centum ferme annos postea natum fuisse." (*De Civit. Dei.*, lib. viii, cap. 11, pp. 371–2). The question of Plato's relation to Judaism was not, however, considered settled.—"Quorum alter (Plato) de potentia, sapientia, bonitate creatoris ac genitura mundi creationeve hominis tam luculenter, tam sapienter, tam vicine veritati disputat, ut ob hoc a quibusdam ex nostris Hieremiam in Egypto audivisse et ab eo de fide nostra imbutus fuisse credatur . . . Omnia enim que de divina natura humana ratione investigari possunt invenerunt, exceptis his in quibus summa salus consistit, que per gratiam Iesu Christi a mansuetis corde cognoscuntur. Unde Augustinus: 'In principio erat verbum,' et omnia que in profundissimo sermone evangelista prosequitur usque ad illum locum ubi de mysteriis incarnationis agere incipit, in Platone se invenisse dicit." Otto of Freising, *Chron.*, pp. 68–70. Otto himself does not believe in the Egyptian story, because, as he also explains, Plato lived too long after the prophet. Vincent of Beauvais is of the same opinion on that point, but argues that Plato might well have known the Hebrew Scriptures through an interpeter. In support of this idea he cites several passages in the Timaeus; "et maxime illud quod et me plurimum adducit ut plene assentiar Platonem illorum librorum expertem non fuisse, quod Plato illa verba Domini ad Moysem, 'Ego sum qui sum,' vehementer tenuit et diligentissime commendavit." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 75. *Cf.* Bacon. *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, p. 72. Philip de Harveng has yet another theory regarding the Egyptian journey. "Audierat (Plato) forte quod Moyses, qui in Egypto natus fuerat et nutritus, omni sapientia Egyptiorum, sicut divina refert pagina, fuerat eruditus; et super hac sapientia idem Plato non mediocriter curiosus ad investigandum eam factus est." *Epistolae*, iv, *Migne*, vol. 203, p. 32. Theodoric of Chartres in the twelfth century wrote "De Sex Dierum Operibus" in an effort to reconcile the Biblical account of the creation with the theories of the Timaeus. Sandys, p. 513.

The only work of Plato which had anything approaching a wide circulation was the Timaeus in the translation of Chalcidius. The dialogue had furnished much material for mystical exposition in the time of the Neo-Platonists and was taken up again by scholars after the beginning of the twelfth century.[1] About 1160 Evericus Aristippus, a Sicilian archdeacon, prepared Latin versions of the Phaedo and Meno, a few copies of which slowly found their way to the libraries of great convents or universities but in that seclusion lay practically undiscovered.[2] Plato continued to be a person about whom inquisitive minds were intensely but vainly curious.[3] His works were among the earliest to be translated by the Hellenists of the fifteenth century.

[1] "Timeus plato" is mentioned in a catalogue of a library of the tenth or eleventh century. Becker, p. 131. But Abelard did not know it. "Platonis opera non cognovit latinitas nostra." Cousin, *Ouvrages Inédits*, p. xlvi. Willam of Conches, a pupil of Bernard of Chartres, wrote a commentary on the Timæus before 1150. Theodoric of Chartres, mentioned in the note just preceding, was a contemporary. Bernard Silvester of Tours, in the same century, wrote two philosophical treatises founded on the Timæus. Otto of Freising was famil- with it. *Chronicon*, p. 365. Extracts from a twelfth-century commentary ascribed to Honoré of Autun are given in Cousin, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 648 656. On the influence of Plato upon twelfth-century thought, see Poole, *Illustrations of Med. Thought*, pp. 124 *et seq.*, 167 *et seq.*

[2] Rashdall, vol. ii, p. 744. Paris catalogues of 1250 and 1290 mention versions of the Phædo. An Oxford Ms. of 1423 contains the translation of the Phædo and Meno. Vincent of Beauvais, speaking of the doctrines of Pythagoras, says: "et multa alia que Plato in libris suis et maxime in Fedrone Thimeoque prosequitur." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 25. But neither Dante nor Petrarch were acquainted with more than the Timæus. In 1393 Salutato, Chancellor of Florence and learned student of the classics, wrote to Andrea Giusti of Volterra: "Ceterum audio quod in bibliotheca Predicatorum est liber Platonis qui inscribitur Phedon. Rogo perquiras et magnitudinem libri declares, ut si possibile fuerit, faciam exemplari." Salutato, *Epist.*, vol. ii, pp. 444 and 449. Nothing is now known of the library where the book was said to be, nor of the copy which Salutato tried to procure.

[3] Vincent of Beauvais gives a list of Plato's works, which he says were called by the names of Plato's teachers. "Hinc sunt libri eius appellati Thimeus, Phedron, Gorgias, Pitagoras, quorum primum et ultimum transtulit Cicero in Phedronis

The history of the role of Aristotle in the Middle Ages is far more complicated and can be given only in brief summary here. The man who made him known to the earlier centuries was Boethius, the scholar of the court of Theodoric. A great part of his work he based upon Aristotle, translatting directly from the Greek an introduction to the peripatetic philosophy, the Isagoge of Porphyry, also the two first divisions of the Organon, De Interpretatione and Categoriae, and composing treatieses of his own upon the other four sections of the Organon, De Syllogismis Categoricis, De Syllogismis Hypotheticis, De Differentiis Topicis and De Divisionibus.[1] The most popular of all his writings, the Consolation of Philosophy, in spirit undeniably Platonic, was Aristotelian in form and style. At the very outset therefore, the Middle Ages inherited more material for a study of Aristotle than for one of Plato. Moreover the subject of which this Aristotle treated in his masterful fashion was logic, toward which for various reasons the medieval thinker was especially attracted. Alcuin, Erigena and other scholars of the Carolingian age studied the writings of Boethius, though they admitted no extraordinary authority in the

dyalogo." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 77. Among Plato's direct disciples he includes Apuleius, Plotinus and the mythical Hermes Trismegistus. *Op. cit.*, lib. v, cap. 6 and 8. Certain writings attributed to Trismegistus, curious compounds of fable mysticism and popular philosophy, had been translated from the Greek by Apuleius, and were known to a few. Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. ii, p. 652, and iii, pp. 333-4.

[1] Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, pp. xxiv-xxvi; Rashdall, vol. i, p. 37, vol. ii, p. 744; Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 52-58. These translations of Boethius comprised what was later known as the Old Logic, in distinction from the versions of the other parts of the Organon, which were entitled the New Logic. They were couched in better Latin than the medieval renderings. For the opinion of one of the ablest of the early humanists, see Bruni, *Epist.*, vol. i, p. 139: "Nullam enim Boetii interpretationem habemus preterquam Porphyrii et Predicamentorum et Perihermenias librorum, quos si accurate leges, videbis summum illum virum sine ullis ineptiis libros illos transtulisse. Textus est nitidus et planus et Greco respondens."

voice that spoke through them. Abelard surrendered himself with more abandon to the guidance of the Greek sage.[1] He advocated what he conceived to be the Aristotelian theory of ideas, in opposition to both the Realist and the Nominalist tenets then in vogue. He composed commentaries or glosses upon the books of Aristotle which he had read, and upon the Aristotelian treatises of Boethius. He exerted the power of his influence in the schools to increase the prestige of Aristotle's name and to mark him out as the chief of the philosophers of the past.[2]

Before the death of Abelard translations of the other portions of the Organon were being carried into Northern Europe from the South. James, the Venetian clerk already mentioned, is usually credited with their authorship.[3] Whatever their source they were eagerly received in learned circles and rapidly disseminated. Men like John of Salisbury, but a few years younger than Abelard, analyzed and commented upon them and to some extent introduced them into the schools.[4] Within a few more years aid from an unexpected quarter made the philosophic and scientific works of the

[1] For the extent of Abelard's knowledge of Aristotle, see Rashdall, vol. i, p. 37; Cousin, *Ouvrages Inédits*, pp. li-liv. Cousin quotes an explicit statement from a Ms. "Aristotelis enin duos tantum, Predicamentorum scilicet et Peri Ermenias, libros usus adhuc Latinorum cognovit."

[2] John of Salisbury about this time begins the protest against over-subservience to Aristotle. "Nec tamen Aristotelem ubique plane aut sensisse aut dixisse protestor, ut sacrosanctum sit, quidquid scripsit." *Metalogicus*, lib. iv, cap. 27. *Migne*, vol. 199, p. 932. He himself, however, says: "sed cum singuli suis meritis splendeant, omnes se Aristotelis adorare vestigia gloriantur, adeo quidem ut commune omnium philosophorum nomen preeminentia quadam sibi proprium fecerit. Nam et antonomatice, id est excellenter, philosophus appellatur." *Op. cit.*, lib. ii, cap. 16. *Migne*, p. 873.

[3] See *supra*, p. 12. Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 21–42. Rashdall, vol. i, p. 61.

[4] The Metalogicus of John of Salisbury, lib. iii and iv, (*Migne*, vol. 199, pp. 892–930.) contains analyses of the contents of the Categories, De Interpretatione, Topics, First and Second Analytics, and Elenchi Sophistici. Otto of Freising names all these in his list of the works of Aristotle. *Chronicon*. p. 68.

master also accessible to the Latin world.[1] For over four centuries the Arabs who ruled in Bagdad over Western Asia and Northern Africa had possessed their own versions of Aristotle, Hippocrates and certain other Greek scientists, versions in some cases taken directly from the Greek, in others from Syriac translations constructed in earlier times by the Nestorians.[2] A knowledge of this Arabic-Greek lore had been transported by the Moslem conquerors to Spain, where small centres of study were gradually formed among the heterogeneous population of the peninsular. Arabic doctors expounded the theories of the Greek philosopher and worked out vast systems of Aristotelianism modified more or less by the precepts of Islam. Alfarabius, Avicenna, Averroes and the Jewish teacher, Moses Maimonides, were especially renowned for the profundity of their erudition and the skill of their interpretations. Toward the close of the twelfth century students from the North, drawn by rumors of wisdom to be gained from sources hitherto unsuspected, began to make their way to Toledo and Salamanca to learn what more they could of Aristotle in this new guise. Shortly after the year 1200 Latin translations from the Arabic of various long forgotten books began to appear in Paris, the Physics, De Caelo et Mundo, De Historia Animalium, followed by the Ethics, Metaphysics and some smaller works. Michael the Scot, Herman the German and Gerard of Cremona, wandering clerks of diverse nationalities, won particular reputation by their versions of Aristotle and of the paraphrases and commentaries of Avicenna and Averroes.[3] The actual process of translation was

[1] A small collection of axioms ascribed to Bede had given some hint as to the character of Aristotle's Physics and Metaphysics. Rashdall, vol. i, p. 37.

[2] For a fuller account of the Arab schools and the communication of their learning to Northern Europe see Rashdall, vol. i, pp. 351, *et seq.* Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroisme*, pt. I and pt. II, chs. I and II.

[3] On these three men see Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 120–147. Bacon gives us

commonly carried on by the collaboration of a Christian from the North with a Saracen or converted Jew of the South, the latter turning the Arabic text into Spanish or some other vernacular dialect intelligible to both, the former putting the vernacular into Latin.[1] Often neither one comprehended the subject under discussion or the technical value of the terms employed. At times the Arabic manuscript proved corrupt or enigmatical or a Latin equivalent could not be recalled. Occasionally in sheer desperation an Arabic word or two was incorporated directly into the Latin page. Thus the sense of the final product was frequently obscure, here and there buried entirely under a hopeless tangle of words. Proper names in particular were apt to take on unrecognizable forms, the Greek names having been altered first to

the fullest contemporary criticism of their work. "Unde cum per Gerardum Cremonensem et Michaelem Scotum et Aluredum Anglicum et Heremannum Alemannum et Wilhelmum Flemingum data sit nobis copia translationum de omni scientia accidit tanta falsitas in eorum operibus quod nullus sufficit admirari. . . . Omnes enim fuerunt temporibus nostris, ita quod aliqui iuvenes adhuc fuerunt contemporanei Gerardo Cremonensi, qui fuit antiquior inter illos. Heremannus quidem Alemannus adhuc vivit episcopus, cui fui valde familiaris. Qui mihi sciscitanti eum de libris logice quibusdam, quos habuit transferendos in Arabico, dixit o-e rotundo quod nescivit logicam et ideo non ausus fuit transferre. Et certe si logicam nescivit, non potuit alias scire scientias, sicut decet. Nec Arabicum bene scivit, ut confessus est, quia magis fuit adiutor translationum quam translator; quia Sarascenos tenuit secum in Hispania qui fuerunt in suis translationibus principales. Similiter Michael Scotus ascripsit sibi translationes multas. Sed certum est quod Andreas quidam Iudeus plus laboravit in his. Unde Michaelus, sicut Heremannus, retulit, nec scivit scientias neque linguas. Et sic de aliis." *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 471–2.

[1] See note above. *Cf.* extract from the dedication of a Latin version of Avicenna, De Anima, addressed to the Archbishop of Toledo by "Ioannes Avendehut Israëlita philosophus." "Hunc igitur librum vobis precipientibus et me singula verba vulgariter proferente et Dominico Archidiacono singula in Latinum convertente, ex Arabico translatum in quo quidquid Aristoteles dixit libro suo de anima et de sensu et sensato et de intellectu et intellecto ab autore libri scias esse collectum." Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 449–456. See also incident of the finding of a Spanish word in a Latin translation by Herman the German, Bacon, *Comp. Stud.*, pp. 467–8. *Op. Tert.*, p. 91, *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, p. 82.

suit Syriac or Arabic rules of nomenclature or to meet the limitations of the Arabic alphabet.[1] Identities were therefore readily confounded or lost sight of altogether. As a whole the Arab-Latin translations were unsatisfactory even to the unexacting scholar of the day. They obtained only until they could be gradually supplanted by others taken straight from the Greek.[2]

It was not long before such translations began to appear. We have already in another connection made mention of the version of the Nicomachean Ethics composed under the direction of Robert Grosseteste of England.[3] From South Italy Frederick II sent copies of renderings made by Sicilian clerks at his munificent court.[4] Scholars in various places stimulated by the increasing demand of the universities and the increased facilities for intercourse with Greek-speaking people set about the work with varying success.[5] The general superiority of these productions over the Arab-Latin versions was soon acknowledged. Albertus Magnus, comparing a reading in a Greek-Latin translation of the De

[1] Hipparchus in these versions was usually called Abraxis. Albertus Magnus, who relied upon an Arab-Latin rendering of the De Cælo et Mundo, speaks of Thales of Miletus as "Belus natus de Ephesio, que civitas Arabice vocatur Humor." Xenophanes of Colophon is disguised as Malvoconensis. Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 37.

[2] Jourdain's *Recherches*, appendix, contains a number of illustrative extracts from manuscripts of these versions. So far as I know none were ever printed in full. Herman the German, in the preface to his translation of the Rhetoric, says plaintively, "Nec miretur quisquam vel indignetur de difficultate vel rudidate translationis, nam multo difficilius et rudius ex Greco in Arabicum est translata. Ita quod Alfarabius qui plurimum conatus est ex Rhetorica aliquid intellectum glosando elicere, multa exempla Greca propter ipsorum obscuritatem pertransiens derelinquit . . . Sane tamen eis (the faultfinders) consulo ut malint hos codices habere sic translatos quam habere derelictos." *Recherches*, p. 139.

[3] See *supra*, p. 14. [4] See *supra*, p. 32.

[5] "In diebus illis legebantur Parisiis libelli quidam ab Aristotele, ut dicebantur, compositi, qui docebant metaphysicam, delati de novo a Constantinopoli et a Greco in Latinum translati." William the Breton, *De Gestis Philippi Aug.*, 1209. *Recueil des Hist.*, vol. xvii, p. 84.

Anima with the same passage in an Arab-Latin, remarks that he believes the former to be erroneous, but that he has found Greek-Latin versions as a rule so much more reliable that he will abide by this even here.[1] Thomas Aquinas before his death in 1274 owned one or more Greek-Latin versions of almost all of the works of Aristotle.[2] Those which he sanctioned were thenceforth considered final and authoritative until the men of the fifteenth century set about to improve them.[3] In style they were slavishly literal, bald and unidiom-

[1] "Quod autem hec vera sint que dicta sunt testatur Aristotelis translatio Arabica que sic dicit . . . Greca autem translatio discordat ab hac et, ut puto, est mendosa. Habet enim sic. . . . Sed quia in multis invenimus Grecas emendatiores quam Arabicas translationes, ideo et hoc sustinentes dicimus." *De Anima*, lib. i, tract. i, cap. 4, *Opp.*, vol. v, p. 124.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 15–17.

[3] A few rare instances are found of translations made during the century and a quarter after St. Thomas, *e. g.*, a version of the Economics by Durand of Auvergne, with the assistance of an archbishop and a bishop from Greece, finished in the first year of Boniface VIII. Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 72. Roger Bacon has caustic comments to make on all the translations of his day. "Certus igitur sum quod melius esset Latinis quod sapientia Aristotelis non esset translata, quam tali obscuritate et perversitate tradita, sicut eis qui ponuntur ibi triginta vel quadraginta annos; et quanto plus laborant, tanto minus sciunt, sicut ego probavi in omnibus qui libris Aristotelis adheserunt." *Comp. Stud.*, p. 469. *Cf. Op. Tert.* p. 33. But on Bacon's attitude see Mandonnet, p. liv, n. 3. For an instance of mistranslation see *Op. Tert.*, p. 75 *et seq.* One meets little other criticism on Aquinas' versions until one comes to Petrarch. "Equidem fateor me stylo viri illius (Aristotle) qualis est nobis, non admodum delectari, quamvis eum in sermone proprio et ducem et copiosum et ornatum fuisse Grecis testibus et Tullio auctore didicerim, antequam ignorantie sententia condemnarer. Sed interpretum ruditate vel invidia ad nos durus scaberque pervenit, ut nec ad plenum mulcere aures possit nec herere memorie quo fit ut interdum Aristotelis mentem non illius sed suis verbis exprimere et audienti gratius et promptius sit loquenti." *De Ignorantia Sui*, *Opp.*, p. 1051. One of the fifteenth-century humanists thus expresses his opinion: "At enim in Ethicis et Physicis quid tandem est preter ineptias meras? Non verba in his Latina, non dicendi figura, non eruditio litterarum; preterea ab ipso Greca male accepta complura. Hec a Boetio longe absunt, viro in utraque lingua docto et eleganti. Nunquam ille architectonicam, nunquam eutrapeliam, nunquam bomolchos, nunquam agricos, quorum vocabula in Latino habemus, Grece reliquisset. Nunquam tristitiam pro dolore posuisset, nunquam honestum cum bono, eligere cum expetere confudisset. . . Equidem si in pictura

atic, occasionally misleading or actually unintelligible.[1] But if a word from the original must now and then be incorporated into the translation it was better Greek than Arabic. Proper names, at least, regained their rightful aspect. Numerous mistakes in rendering were corrected. Unreadable as these versions seemed to later generations they were removed by fewer degrees from Aristotle than their Arab-Latin or Arab-Syriac predecessors.[2] They represented as we have said,

Jotti (Giotto) quis facem proïceret, pati non possem. Quid ergo existimas mihi accidere cum Aristotelis libros omni pictura preciosiores tanta traductionis fece coinquinari videam? an non commoveri? an non turbari?" Bruni, *Epist.*, vol. i, pp. 139-140.

[1] Their literalness in some cases made them useful later as aids in correcting defective Greek texts. *Cf.* the following note on a Florentine Ms. of the Politics, Rhetoric and Ethics, written by Franciscus Victorius, nephew of Petrus Victorius, a fifteenth century collator of Greek and Latin Mss. "Hic est liber ille veteris translationis nonnullorum librorum Aristotelis, cuius sepe mentionem fecit Petrus Victorius; precique autem in epistola ad studiosos artis dicendi in commentarios suos in tres libros Aristotelis de arte dicendi affirmat huius auxilio se usum fuisse in corrigendis libris illis temporum ac librariorum incuria deformatis. Cum enim hec translatio multis antea seculis confecta fuerit, quo tempore libri Aristotelis integriores emendatioresque erant, auctorque ipsius, quicumque ille fuerit, negotium cum multa fide administraverit, ac ne verborum quidem ordinem variaverit, inde se cognovisse Victorius narrat quam scripturam in suo exemplari ille habuerit." Traversari, vol. i, p. clvi.

[2] The following extracts show different versions of a passage from the opening of the treatise, De Caelo et Mundo. They are preceded by the Greek text:

Greek.	*Arab-Latin, No. 1.*	*Arab-Latin, No. 2.*	*Greek-Latin used by Aquinas.*
"Ἡ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιστήμη σχεδὸν ἡ πλείστη φαίνεται περί τε σώματα καὶ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ τούτων οὗσα πάθη καὶ τὰς κινήσεις, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅσαι τῆς τοιαύτης οὐσίας εἰσίν· τῶν γὰρ φύσει συνεστώτων τὰ μέν ἐστι σώματα καὶ μεγέθη, τὰ δ' ἔχει σῶμα καί μέγεθος, τὰ δ' ἀρχαὶ τῶν ἐχόντων εἰσίν.	"Maxima cognitio nature et scientia demonstrans ipsam est in corporibus et in aliis magnitudinibus et in passionibus et motibus earum et in principiis cuiuslibet quod assimilatur isti nature. Etiam naturalium rerum quedam sunt corpus et magnitudo, et quedam habent corpus et magnitudinem et quedam sunt principia habentium corpora et magnitudinem.	"Summa cognitionis nature et scientie ipsam significantis in corporibus existit, et in reliquis magnitudinibus et impressionibus et in motibus eorum et in principiis omnium que etiam huic nature sunt similia; quod est quia rerum naturalium quedam sunt que sunt corpus, et alia sunt que sunt principia rerum que habent corpora et magnitudinem.	"De natura scientia fere plurima videtur circa corpora et magnitudines et horum existens passiones et motus, adhuc autem circa principia quecumque talis substantie sunt. Natura enim constantiuum hec quidem sunt corpora et magnitudines; hec autem habent corpus et magnitudinem; hec autem principia habentium sunt.

(Note 2 continued from preceding page.)

Συνεχὲς μὲν οὖν ἐστι διαιρετὸν εἰς ἀεὶ διαιρετά, σῶμα δὲ τὸ πάντῃ διαιρετόν· μεγέθοις δὲ μὲν ἐφ' ἓν γραμμή, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἐπίπεδον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τρία σῶμα· καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστιν ἄλλο μέγεθος διὰ τὸ τὰ πάντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πᾶν πάντῃ. καθάπερ καὶ φασὶ οἱ πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὥρισται· τέλευτὴ γὰρ καὶ μέσον καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ παντός, ἔστι δὲ τὸν τῆς τριάδος· παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ὁδηγόρες ὥσπερ νόμους λέγης, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θέσεις χρώμεθα τῶν ὀνομάτων τῷ ἀριθμῷ τούτῳ. ἀποδίδομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· τὰ γὰρ δύο τῷ μὲν λέγομεν καὶ τὼ δύο ἀμφοτέρους, δύο δ' οὐ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν τριῶν ἔστιν τὴν προσηγορίαν τὴν μὲν πρῶτον. ταῦτα καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν οὕτως ἄγειν ἀκολουθοῦμεν."

Aquinas, *Opera*, ed. Leo XIII, vol. iii, pp. 4 and 5.

Et continuum quidem est igitur quod est divisibile secundum omnes mensuras: magnitudinis vero quod est unius mensure, est linea: quod duarum, superficies, trium autem corpus, et post istam nulla mensura est. Omnia enim sunt tria et divisa in tres mensuras et similiter; inquiunt Pythagorici, quod omnino res terminantur tribus mensuris, fine, medio et principio; et hoc est numerus cuiuslibet et est demonstrans trinitatem rerum. Et non invenimus istum numerum nisi ex natura et sustinemus ipsum quasi nobis legem, et secundum istum numerum tenemur magnificare Deum creatorem remotum a modis creaturarum et etiam appellamus istum numerum secundum hunc modum: dico quod numeramus duos numeros duo, et duos viros duos viros, et non dicimus omnes. Sed hoc omne non dicitur nisi de tribus et per ipsum nominantur tria. Primo et hoc fuit dictum, quoniam natura naturata ita fecit, et nos sequimur ita suum opus, sicut prius narravimus."

Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 407-8.

Et continuum quidem separabile est in res suscipientes divisionem receptione que semper est. Corpus vero divisibile est in omnes divisiones; magnitudines autem quecumque habentes divisionem unam sunt linee, et que duas habet est superficies, et que tres habet est corpus. Post ista autem non erit magnitudo alia, quoniam res omnes sunt tres et dividuntur in tres dimensiones; et similiter quidam dicunt Pythagorici quod totum et res terminantur tribus dimensionibus, fine scilicet, medio et principio; et hic quidem est numerus omnis rei, et significat trinitatem rerum. Nos vero non extraximus hunc numerum nisi ex natura rerum et retinuimus ipsum similem legi earum, et per hunc quidem numerum adhibuimus nos ipsos magnificare Deum unum creatorem eminentem proprietatibus eorum que sunt creata. Nos autem nominavimus hunc numerum hoc modo, ut dicamus quia nominantur duo numeri duo numeri, et duo viri duo viri, et non dicimus omnes neque toti, quia ponimus semper et omne et totum supra tria imprimis. Nos autem invenimus illud ita, quoniam natura taliter facit, et imitamur nos eius operationem, sicut narravimus nuper."

Jourdain, *Recherches*, pp. 408–409.

Continuum quidem igitur est, quod divisibile in semper divisibilia, corpus autem, quod omniquaeque divisibile. Magnitudinis autem que quidem ad unum, linea; que autem ad duo, planum; que autem ad tria, corpus. Et preter has non est alia magnitudo, propter tria omnia esse et ipsum ter omniquaque. Quemadmodum enim aiunt et Pythagorici, totum et omnia tribus determinata sunt. Consummatio enim et medium et principium numerum habent eum qui omnis; hec autem qui trinitatis est. Propter quod a natura accipientes tanquam leges illius et ad sanctificationes deorum hoc utimur numero. Assignamus autem et appellationes secundum modum hunc. Que enim duo ambo dicimus, et duos ambos; omnes autem non dicimus sed de tribus hanc appellationem dicimus primum. Hoc autem quemadmodum dictum est, propter naturam ipsam sic inducentem sequimur."

Aquinas, *Opera*, ed. Leo XIII, vol. iii, pp. 4 and 5.

almost the whole range of Aristotle's writings. Portions of certain works, such as the last books of the Metaphysics, one or two smaller treatises on unpopular subjects, such as the Poetics, were omitted.[1]

¶ Thus to the thirteenth century came the revelation of Aristotle's manifold resources as a teacher, not only of logic and dialectic, but of all conceivable branches of metaphysics and

[1] "Quinquaginta etiam libros (Aristotle) fecit de animalibus preclaros, ut Plinius dicit octavo Naturalium et vidi in Greco; sed Latini non habent nisi decem novem libellos miseros imperfectos. De Metaphysica non legunt Latini nisi quod habent de decem libellis, cum multi alii sint et de illis decem deficiunt in translatione quam legunt multa capitula et quasi linee infinite." Bacon, *Comp. Stud.*, p. 473. Aquinas before his death knew twelve books of the Metaphysics. The Poetics was represented by a translation of Herman the German of an Arabic abridgment by Alfarabius. See Herman's preface in Jourdain, *Recherches*, p. 142, and comments on the work by Bacon. *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, pp. 33, 85–88, *Gk. Grammar*, p. 28; also Bacon's reference to Herman's excuse for not translating the Poetics in full, *supra*, p. 68, n. 3. Averroes had defined tragedy as the art of blaming and comedy as the art of praising, Egger, vol. i, p. 58. With those definitions in mind it was naturally difficult to get much meaning from Aristotle's literary masterpiece.

A list of the works of Aristotle is given by the encyclopedist, Vincent of Beauvais. "De arte logica libros Cathegoriarum, id est Predicamentorum, et secundum quosdam libros Sex Principiorum (apocryphal), libros quoque Periermenias et libros Analeticorum et Posteriorum Topicorum et Elencorum. Porro de phisica, id est naturali scientia, libros edidit de Phisico Auditu, de Generatione et Corruptione, de Anima, de Sensu et Sensato, de Memoria, de Reminiscentia, de Somno et Vigilia, de Morte et Vita, de Vegetabilibus et etiam de Animalibus secundum quosdam, et de Quattuor Elementis (apocryphal); libros quoque Metheorum et Methaphisicorum. Extat etiam liber qui dicitur Perspectiva Aristotelis (apocryphal) et alius, ut fertur, qui dicitur Rhetorica eiusdem, et est ipsius epistola ad Alexandrum de Dieta Servanda (apocryphal). De his autem ipsius libris exerpsi plurima in prima et secunda parte istius operis: preter hoc etiam scripsit libros Ethicorum quattuor, quorum flores morales in hoc loco inserere volui." He also believes that Aristotle composed a tract "De Matrimonio." *Spec. Hist.*, lib. iv, cap. 84. He forgets to mention the book, "De Coelo et Mundo," from which he quotes elsewhere. He apparently did not know the Politics or the Economics, both of which had been used by Albertus and Thomas, and was aware of the Rhetoric only through hearsay. *Cf.* the list of the works of Aristotle in the library of Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, James, pp. 307-317, 349–353, etc. Mandonnet, pp. xxvii–xl.

natural science. At first, however, the attitude of the Church toward this influx of pagan learning was doubtful, even hostile.[1] The Arab-Latin versions which appeared in Paris after 1200 were accompanied by the glosses and commentaries of Arabian scholars, especially of Avicenna and Averroes. These brought out unmistakably the non-Christian elements in peripatetic philosophy, the doctrines of the eternity of matter and the unity of the active intellect, and expressly denied the possibility of corporal resurrection or even of individual immortality. Certain pseudo-Aristotelian works, in particular the Neo-Platonic Liber de Causis, which laid more stress upon such points than Aristotle himself had ever cared to do, became current at the same time and increased the uneasiness with which the Church regarded the movement. Fears seemed speedily justified by the almost simultaneous appearance of doctors at Paris, who began to inculcate seriously certain dreaded philosophical heresies. In 1210 an ecclesiastical council met in the city, which burned the writings of one heterodox thinker, David de Dinant, exhumed the body and excommunicated the soul of another, Almaric, consigned to death or imprisonment a group of Almaric's disciples, and forbade the reading in public or private of Aristotle's books on natural philosophy or the commentaries upon them.[2] In 1215 the papal legate Robert de Courçon drew up a body of statutes for the Masters of Arts at Paris. These provided that lectures should be given on the Logic and, if desired, on the Ethics of Aristotle, but

[1] For a more precise account of the agitation over Aristotle see Rashdall, vol. i, p. 353 *et seq.* For an interesting allusion by Bacon to the feeling of the period see extract quoted by Rashdall, vol. ii, p. 754.

[2] " . . . nec libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia nec commenta legantur Parisius publice vel secreto, et hoc sub pena excommunicationis inhibemus." Denifle, *Chart.*, vol. i, p. 70. A list of condemned heretical tenets is given, *ibid*, pp. 71–2. For account of the episode see William the Breton, *Recueil des Hist.*, vol. xvii, pp. 82–4.

none upon the Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy or any paraphrases of them, nor upon the works of the heretics or of Averroes.[1] In 1231 Gregory IX ordered penance for a number of masters and students who had been reading the prohibited volumes. Shortly afterwards, however, he appointed a commission to examine and expurgate the same and to collect parts that might safely and profitably be given to the schools.[2]

From this time on alarm died down. Heresy was temporarily suppressed. The difference between Aristotle and his interpreters or imitators was slowly recognized and the injustice of including all under the same indiscriminate ban. William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris from 1228, did not hesitate to use the proscribed books nor to defend the true Aristotle from the charges brought against him. Alexander Hales, the pride of the Franciscan school, drew freely from all the writings of the philosopher which came in his way. A few years later Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were utilizing the wisdom of the Greek as the scientific foundation for the most exact and comprehensive system of Catholic theology yet conceived.[3] By their efforts Aristotle was introduced to the world anew in Christian guise, supplied

[1] "Et quod legant libros Aristotelis de dialecta tam de veteri quam de nova in scolis ordinarie et non ad cursum . . . Non legant festivis diebus nisi philosophos et rhetoricas et quadruvalia et barbarismum et Ethicam, si placet, et quartum Topichorum. Non legantur libri Aristotelis de methafisica et de naturali philosophia, nec summe de eisdem, aut de doctrina magis ri David de Dinant, aut Amalrici heretici, aut Mauricii Hyspani." Denifle, *Chart.*, vol. i, pp. 78–9.

[2] "Ceterum cum sicut intelleximus libri naturalium, qui Parisius in Concilio provinciali fuere prohibiti, quedam utilia et inutilia continere dicantur, ne utile per inutile vitietur, discretioni vestre . . . mandamus, quatinus libros ipsos examinantes sicut convenit subtiliter et prudenter, que ibi erronea seu scandali vel offendiculi legentibus inveneritis illativa penitus resecatis ut que sunt suspecta remotis incunctanter ac inoffense in reliquis studeatur." Denifle, *Chart.*, vol. i, pp. 143–4.

[3] Mandonnet, pp. xlv *et seq.*

with Christian interpretations to replace the Mohammedan or Jewish or pagan commentaries which had first discredited him. Thenceforth an attack upon the authority of Aristotle came to be regarded as an attack upon the faith of Aquinas, the accepted theologian of the church. Even the excesses of the later Averroists who persisted in retaining the Arabic commentators and brought down again the condemnation of the Church upon their heads did not seriously impair the growing prestige of the "Philosopher."[1] A list of text-books studied in 1255 under the Parisian Faculty of Arts contained the greater part of the translated works, the books on Logic, Ethics, Physics, Metaphysics, De Animalibus, De Coelo et Mundo, the first and fourth books of the Meteorics, De Anima, De Generatione, De Sensu et Sensato, De Somno et Vigilia, De Plantis,[2] De Memoria et Reminiscentia, De Morte et Vita.[3] Some were the subjects of regular lectures throughout the year, others were read on festivals or saints' days. In 1366 a body of regulations for the university drawn up by two cardinal legates prescribed almost all of these same books for the degree in Arts.[4] The German universities as they arose copied in the main the curriculum, as they did the organization, of Paris. Allusions in their records to customs at Paris and elsewhere show that occasionally lectures were given on portions of Aristotle not included in the foregoing, official lists, namely the Politics, Economics and Rhetoric.[5]

[1] For best account of the disturbances of the later thirteenth century, see Mandonnet, p. lxix, and thereafter through the book.

[2] De Plantis is still included in editions of Aristotle, though probably spurious.

[3] Denifle, *Chart.*, vol. i, p. 278.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 145.

[5] Rashdall, vol. i, p. 440. For influence of the Politics on some of the treatises on government of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *e. g.*, on the De Regimine Principum of Gilles de Paris, see Sandys, p. 565 and n. 3.

In Church and University, accordingly, the influence of Aristotle and Aquinas was dominant from the middle of the thirteenth century to the last of the fifteenth.[1] Whether the student toiled in the elementary subjects of logic and dialectic or in the more advanced fields of science, philosophy or metaphysics Aristotle was ever before him as ultimate authority and guide. Originality of speculation was abashed by reverence for Aristotle's omniscience.[2] Only as one entered upon certain professional courses in law or theology did one leave Aristotle behind, although even the Summa Theologiae was not without reminders of the master of the knowledge of antiquity. Medical schools of the South took Aristotle's physiological treatises as a basis for their study of anatomy.[3] A few daring and independent thinkers of the fourteenth century, Duns Scotus and William of Occam, ventured to assail both Aquinas' interpretation of Aristotle and the theory of universals expounded by Aristotle. The former they declared to be a deliberate misconstruction of the whole trend of peripatetic philosophy, the latter they

[1] Unfortunately for these later generations they failed to imitate the two great schoolmen, Albertus and Aquinas, in the sturdy independence of judgment which they had preserved in dealing with Aristotle. Albertus had not hesitated to say bluntly, "Dicet autem fortasse aliquis nos Aristotelem non intellexisse, et ideo non consentire verbis eius; vel quod forte ex certa scientia contradicamus ei quantum ad hominem et non quantum ad rei veritatem. Et ad illum dicimus, quod qui credit Aristotelem fuisse deum, ille debet credere quod nunquam erravit. Si autem credit ipsum esse hominem, tunc procul dubio errare potuit sicut et nos." *Physic*, lib. viii, tract. i, cap. 14; *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 553. Aquinas' dictum on the matter of authority is well known. "Studium philosophie non est ad hoc quod sciatur quid homines senserint, sed qualiter se habeat veritas rerum." *De Caelo*, lib. i, lect. 22; *Opera*, vol. iii, p. 91.

[2] Through all this period Aristotle is frequently exalted as almost more than human, *e. g.*, Richard de Bury, a scholar of exceptional intelligence, writes about 1344 of him as one "of gigantic mind, in whom it pleased Nature to try how great a portion of reason she could admit into mortality, and whom the Most High made but little inferior to the angels." *Philobiblion*, cap. x, p. 69.

[3] Rashdall, vol. i, p. 235.

denounced as impracticable realism. In its place they advocated a new nominalism opposed as completely to Plato as to the Stagirite. But their arguments appealed only to radical or impressionable circles and failed to shake the resolution of the Church and the leading continental universities to stand immovably by the leaders whom they had chosen. In these great conservative institutions a barren and pedantic subservience to authority took the place of the hopefulness and promise of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The baneful overestimate of the deference due to Aristotle affected scholarship in Paris as late as 1629, when the Parlement there assembled forbade any attack upon his theories under pain of death.[1]

We cannot omit entirely all mention of medieval translations of the works of the Greek fathers of the Church prized in many cases far above any relics of the earlier and profaner literature. The Vulgate was itself, of course, a translation from the Greek reputed to be the work of St. Jerome and commonly looked upon as verbally inspired like the original.[2] Naturally also discussions of important themes by eminent Eastern divines in the days when the Roman Empire yet held East and West together were often turned into Latin for the benefit of the congregations that understood only the Roman tongue. Jerome and his contemporary, the priest Rufinus, accomplished the most of such

[1] It is not possible here to discuss the medieval legends of Aristotle as magician or lover of womankind. Such legends were late in growth, and were not as a rule repeated by the historians; in fact, were never accepted so seriously as the older myths. See for references Comparetti, pp. 327 *et seq.*

[2] "In his omnibus Donatum non sequimur quia fortiorem in Divinis Scripturis auctoritatem tenemus. Corticem enim, silicem, stirpem et diem communis generis esse non negamus. Radicem vero et finem et pinum feminini generis esse Scripturarum auctoritate docemur." Smaragdus, the grammarian. Quoted in Thurot, *Notices*, p. 81. Now and then one finds a bolder attitude of critcism as in Abelard and Bacon. Nicholas de Lyra wrote a "Tractatus de Differentia Hebraice et Latine Translationis." Bandini, *Bib. Leop.*, vol. iii, p. 93.

work in their generation.[1] Jerome did something to redeem the name of Origen from utter reprobation by translating many of his homelies on books of the Old and New Testaments. He furthermore composed free paraphrases of the Chronicle and other minor works of Eusebius and of several treatises of Philo. Rufinus, applying himself yet more industriously, performed an inestimable service for medieval students by furnishing them with Latin renderings of Josephus' De Bello Judaico, Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, St. Basil's Hexaemeron and Regulae and numerous sermons of Origen, Gregory Nazianzen and Pamphilius the Martyr.

Ecclesiastical treatises were still translated, though at longer intervals, during the period between the fall of the Western Empire and the final severance of connection with the church at Constantinople. In several instances the authors were monks who remained anonymous and the dates of their compositions are hard to fix. We hear, however, that in the early sixth century Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric, sought to complete the History of Eusebius by ordering translations of the Greek church writers, Socrates, Sozomenus and Theodoret and then by casting the results into one composite narrative, known thereafter as the Historia Tripartita.[2] Dionyius Exiguus, a Scythian, who became in later life a Roman abbot and a friend of Cassiodorus, contributed versions of an epistle of Cyril of Alexandria, a life of St. Pachomius, two or three works of Proclus and Gregory of Nyssa and, most important of all, the canons and decrees of the early church councils.[3] In the ninth century Erigena prepared a rendering of the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius

[1] The Kirchen Lexikon on Hieronymus and Rufinus gives convenient summaries.

[2] *Op. cit.* on Cassiodorus, The Historia Tripartita is included among the works of Cassiodorus in *Migne*, vol. 69. See his own preface, pp. 879-882.

[3] See Dionysius Exiguus, *Opera*, *Migne*, vol. 67; in particular, pp. 141-2.

the Areopagite, perhaps the most influential, single Greek addition to the library of Roman theology. Anastasius, keeper of the papal archives under Nicholas I and John VIII, put into Latin the Chronography of Nicephorus and miscellaneous works by George Syncellus, Theophanes and other theologians.[1]

In the eleventh century the library of the monastery at Monte Cassino possessed the version of the Regula Basilii, a collection of sermons by Gregory Nazianzen, Josephus, Origen on the Canticles and Chrysostom's De Reparatione Lapsi, Dialogus cum Alberico Diacono and Dialogus de Miraculis.[2] In the twelfth century Burgundio, the Pisan lawyer, translated for Eugene III the homilies of Chrysostom on Matthew and on John, one hundred chapters from the disquisition De Orthodoxa Fide by John Damascene, perhaps also the Apologetics of Gregory Nazianzen and other patristic writings.[3] John of Salisbury procured a new version of Dionysius the Areopagite, including both the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies.[4] A few more sporadic translations from Greek theologians were produced in the thirteenth century in spite of the prevalent craze for Aristotle. Grosseteste gave an impulse to this as well as to

[1] *Kirchen Lexikon.* Also Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, vol. iii, p. 150. For Eligena, see Poole, *Illustrations of Med. Thought*, pp. 53 *et seq.*

[2] Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scrip.*, vol. iv, pp. 473–4.

[3] See *supra*, p. 12 Gidel, *Nouvelles Etudes*, p. 235. Traversari, vol. i, pp. ccxvii, ccxviii. Burgundio's translations, like others of the time, were later sharply criticized by the humanists for their inelegance. "Ego antea Augustinum legebam, nunc est in manibus Io. Chrysostomus. Legi nonnulla eius opuscula et sermones omni cum venustate translata; nunc vero alia percurro longe inferioris eloquentie, prout varii translatores fuere . . . Prestant lxxxviii Homelie in Evangelium Ioannis, quarum si interpres fuisset eloquens, nil doctius, nil gravius, nil magnificentius legisses. Sed is fuit Pisanus quidam, qui se fatetur in Prologo de verbo ad verbum transferre; nec tanta est translatoris inconcinnitas, quin mirum in modum eluceat facundia auctoris." Poggio, *Epistolae*, vol. i, pp. 30–31.

[4] See *supra*, p. 22.

scientific work.[1] Vincent of Beauvais was able to make out impressive lists of the books of famous Eastern churchmen which he had seen in Latin, seven miscellaneous treatises by Clement of Alexandria, a voluminous collection of Origen's homelies on the parts of the Bible, ten compositions in prose and verse by Gregory Nazianzen, four special discourses by Chrysostom, beside numerous sermons.[2] Works like these appealed, of course, to the better read among the clergy, and copies of one or more were to be found in almost every well-stocked convent library.[3] Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen were apparently the most preferred of the theologians.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 13–14, "Similiter libri doctorum magnorum, ut beatorum Dionysii, Basilii, Iohannis Chrysostomi, Iohannis Damasceni et aliorum multorum deficiunt; quorum tamen aliquos dominus Robertus prefatus episcopus vertit in Latinum, et alii quosdam alios ante eum; cuius opus est valde gratum theologis." Bacon, *Op. Mai.*, vol. iii, p. 84.

[2] The titles which he gives are as follows: Clement of Alexandria, Stromatus (Stromata), Adversus Gentiles, De Ieiunio Disputatio, a work beginning "Quisnam ille dives sit qui salvetur," De Obtrectatione, De Canonibus Ecclesiasticis, Adversus eos qui Iudeorum sequuntur errorem. *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xi, cap. 126. Of Origen, seventeen homilies on Genesis, thirteen on Exodus, sixteen on Leviticus, twenty-eight on Numbers, twenty-six on Joshua, nine on Judges, five on the thirty-sixth Psalm, two on the thirty-seventh, two on the thirty-eighth, nine on Isaiah, fourteen on Jeremiah, fourteen on Ezekiel, twenty-six on Matthew, thirty-eight on Luke, ten on the Epistle to the Romans, with tracts on Job, the Canticles, John and others. *Op. cit.*, lib. xii, cap. 11. Of Gregory Nazianzen, a poem on the death of Caesar's brother, encomia in verse of the Maccabees, Cyprian, Athanasius and the philosopher Maximus, invectives against the same Maximus, Eunomius and the Emperor Julian, Hexameron on Marriage and Virginity, De Spiritu Sancto. *Op. cit.*, lib. xv, cap. 90. Of Chrysostom, "Quod nemo leditur nisi a semetipso," De Reparatione Lapsi, De Compunctione Cordis, Commentary on Matthew, ninety homilies on Matthew, eighty-eight on John, thirty-four on the Epistle to the Hebrews, seven in eulogy of St. Paul, and thirty selected sermons. "Sup. Matheus in modum commentariorum li. ii. De his tamen dubito an sint Iohannis illius Crisostomi licet ei ascribantur, an forte alterius Iohannis nescio cuius. Nam et inveniuntur alias omelie Iohannis Crisostomi super Matheum xc, que tamen raro inveniuntur omnes simul sed tantum xxv que apud nos sunt." *Op. cit.*, lib. xviii, cap. 42. *Cf.* James, pp. 40–41.

[3] See Becker, Index, James, *passim*.

In spite of all defence, Clement and Origen lay to most minds under a cloud of heterodoxy, and their names were less often mentioned.[1] Josephus and Eusebius were relied upon as sources by every serious historian.

From Vincent's pages one may also learn how much the hagiography of the Middle Ages was enriched by Eastern traditions. Lives of Greek saints, their miracles and sufferings, are there liberally interspersed among similar accounts of their Western brethren. The collection of martyr legends compiled by the Byzantine statesman, Simon Metaphrastes, and translated by monks of Southern Italy, was doubtless the source of Vincent's information.[2] Tales like these of angelic heroism in the face of demoniacal persecution fired the reader's imagination as thoroughly as did the secular histories of the fortitude of Trojan warriors or of the conquering Alexander. The element of the marvelous, the moral lessons of courage and endurance and faith in unseen powers were present in all. The most popular Western version of the martyrology was the Golden Legend of Jacques de Voragine, written not far from the time when Vincent was accumulating material for his ponderous encyclopedia.

Barely an allusion can be made to the Greek science, exclusive of Aristotle's, which penetrated to the Middle Ages. The names of a few Greek mathematicians were preserved and associated with unsubstantial epigrams or anecdotes, but any real knowledge of their works was for the most part lost. Adelard of Bath, who about 1130 made a tour of

[1] For influence of Origen's teaching in shaping the medieval theory of lunacy as demoniacal possession see Döllinger, *Akad. Vorträge*, vol. i, p. 182, *Studies*, p. 183.

[2] For a suggestive brief account of the influence of Greek martyrology on the West see Döllinger, *Akad. Vorträge*, pp. 180-2. This subject belongs properly under the heading of later Byzantine contributions to the Middle Ages, and as such cannot be treated adequately here.

Arab schools in Spain, Egypt and Asia Minor, translated Euclid from the Arabic into Latin, and before the end of the century Gerard of Cremona composed a similar version of the Almagest of Ptolemy. Both works soon came into general use in the schools, but they were followed by no others of their kind.[1] The one branch of science in which a certain continuity of study of the Greek authors was maintained was medicine. The Therapeutics of Galen, the Aphorisms, De Herbis and De Concordia of Hippocrates existed in Latin form in very early times.[2] From the Dark Ages onward considerable ignorance and barbarity prevailed in the teaching and practice of medicine, but during the eleventh century there took place a reform traditionally associated with the name of Constantinus Africanus, an Italian. He is said to have crossed the Mediterranean to North Africa, and after an absence of years to have brought back with him a knowledge of Greek and Arabic and fresh texts of the Greek writers on the healing arts.[3] Whatever the actual events which brought the reform about, the result was assuredly an

[1] Rashdall, vol. i, p. 442. Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. iii, col. 312:

"Langue doit estre refrenée:
Car nous lisons dans Tholomée
Une parole moult honeste
Au comencier de s'Almageste,
Que sages est cis qui met paine
A ce que sa langue se refraine."

Roman de la Rose, ll. 7780, *et seq.*; ed. Michel, vol. i, p. 234. On Gerard of Cremona, see also *supra*, p. 68. Some brief excerpts on astronomy were translated from the original of Ptolemy during the twelfth century, but no other entire work. Bandini, *Bib. Leop.*, vol. ii, p. 398.

[2] See sixth century references to Hippocrates and Galen in Latin. Gidel. p. 203.

[3] For account of the works and translations of Constantinus, see Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, vol. iv, p. 455. For account of the whole movement with detailed references, see Rashdall, vol. i, pp. 79–82, and especially Paine, *Medicine, Encyclopedia Britannica*. The chief original contribution of the Arabs to medical progress was in the department of pharmacy.

increase in the value put upon the authority of the Greek physicians and their Arabian interpreters. John of Salisbury in the next century spoke petulantly of young doctors who came back from Salerno or Montpellier, bragging of Galen and Hippocrates and dinning into every one's ears the outlandish words they had picked up.[1] William of Moerbeka added to his translations of Aristotle one each of Galen and Hippocrates.[2] Vincent of Beauvais quoted from several of the works of Hippocrates and enumerated twenty-five treatises attributed to Galen, De Complexionibus, De Anatomia, De Regimine Sanitatis, Libri Diademiarum, De Perfectis Medicinis, Passionarium, Antidotarium and others.[3] In Dante's time the title Aphorisms had become a synonym for the medical art.[4] In brief, the best of medieval medical knowledge was Greek, and medical enlightenment was de-

[1] "Alii autem suum in philosophia intuentes defectum, Salernum vel ad Montepessulanum profecti, facti sunt clientuli medicorum, et repente quales fuerant philosophi, tales in momento medici eruperunt. Fallacibus enim referti experimentis in brevi redeunt, sedulo exercentes quod didicerunt. Hippocratem ostentant aut Galenum: verba proferunt inaudita: ad omnia suos loquuntur aphorismos: et mentes humanas, velut afflatas tonitruis sic percellunt nominibus inauditis." *Met log.*, lib. i, cap. 4; *Migne*, vol. 199, p. 830. A catalogue of the library at Durham in the twelfth century includes a number of medical books; among others, three of Galen's works and two of Hyppocrates', *e. g.*, "liber Ypocrates peri tio noxon nosematon," (*περὶ τῶν ὀξέων νοσημάτων*). Becker, p. 244. The library of Christ Church, Canterbury, near the end of the thirteenth century possessed about sixty volumes of medical treatises and commentaries, with six different works of Hippocrates and seven of Galen. James, pp. 55-62, 81. As Galen grew more popular there was an attempt, as there had been in the case of Plato, to connect him with Christianity. "Ipse (Galen) fuit coetaneus Christo et dicitur in Chronicis quod ipse audiens miracula que faciebat Christus de sanatione infirmorum venit ad ipsum, postea in reditu mortuus est in itinere unde dicitur quod sepulcrum eius est in Sicilia." From comment on Galen of early fifteenth century. Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat.*, vol. iii, p. 28.

[2] See *supra*, p. 16.

[3] *Spec. Hist.*, lib. xi, cap. 92.

[4] *Paradiso*, canto xi, l. 4. *Cf.* the list of works prescribed for the license in medicine at Montpellier, in 1309. Rashdall, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 123–4.

pendent upon adherence to Greek precepts and example. The physicians of the Middle Ages made no advance in skill or wisdom beyond their teachers. Hippocrates and Galen were the safest and most respected guides until the seventeenth century brought a renewal of original investigation and discovery.

In closing our fragmentary sketch of what was known of the Greeks and their works during the Middle Ages we note once more that in spite of an almost universal ignorance of their language considerable information was obtained through divers channels.[1] Some came from the Roman writers of antiquity who took their inspiration from the models furnished them by Hellas, some from later paraphrases or translations. The latter, however, were for the most part made after the decay of literary taste in the West rendered impossible any true artistic sympathy on the part of the translator. Flights of fancy or romance were accepted as literal history. The clarity, the subtlety and the buoyancy of Greek thought were dulled, compressed and recast to suit a simpleminded, unanalytic age. The spirit of what was known was therefore largely misunderstood, and much that was needed to give coherence or seriousness to Greek achievement was forgotten altogether. Many noble names were lost or connected vaguely with an uncomprehended greatness or cheapened by association with trivialities.

As final illustration we observe the attitude toward the Greek past of the supreme, literary artist who lived when the Middle Ages were drawing toward their close. Dante cannot grant to any pagan a place even among the saving pains of Purgatory. In Hell they all abide without hope of change, but those who lived honorably without sin save that of ignorance are in the first circle free from torment, "neither sad

[1] See summary in *Körting*, vol. iii, pp. 88 *et seq.*, 205–6.

nor glad." Foremost in the distinguished company is "Homer, the sovereign poet," "that Lord of the loftiest song / which above the others as an eagle flies," "that Greek whom the muses suckled more than any other ever."[1] No second Hellenic poet, however, ranks among the five greatest. The other four are Horace, Ovid, Lucan and Vergil. A little apart is Aristotle, "the Master of those who know, seated amid the philosophic family; all regard him, all do him honor."[2] Near him stand Socrates and Plato, Democritus, "who ascribes the world to chance," Diogenes, Anaxagoras and Thales, Empedocles, Heraclitus and Zeno, Dioscorides, "the good collector of the qualities," Orpheus, Euclid, "the geometer," Ptolemy, Hippocrates, Avicenna, Galen, and Averroes, "who made the great comment."[3] Not far distant are Euripides, Antiphon, Simonides, Agathon, "and many other Greeks who of old adorned their brows with laurel."[4] These make up the number that Dante chooses to commemorate for attainments in literature.

In the same quiet field are certain others who have won repose by heroic lives, Electra, Hector, Antigone, Deiphile and Argia, Ismene, "sad even as she was," Hypsipyle, "who showed Langia," "the daughter of Tiresias and Thetis, and Deidamia with her sisters."[5] Other regions of the Inferno contain Greeks who deserve a more tragic fate. In the wailing whirlwind of carnal sinners are Paris and Helen, "for whom so long a time of ill revolved," and Achilles, "who at

[1] *Inferno*, Canto iv, ll. 88, 95, 96. *Purgatorio*, Canto xxii, ll. 101–2. The translation is Charles Eliot Norton's, Reverence like this here expressed for Homer was of course learned from the Latin classics. Dante could never have paid that tribute from knowledge only of Dictys or Dares or Pindar the Theban.

[2] *Inferno*, Canto iv, ll. 131–3.

[3] *Ibid.*, ll. 136, 142, 144.

[4] *Purgatorio*, canto xxii, ll. 107–8.

[5] *Purgatorio*, canto xxii, ll. 111–114.

the end fought with love."[1] Under the rain of fire in the seventh circle a scornful, obdurate soul is Capaneus, one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes.[2] Another proud shade who beneath the scourge of demons will not shed a tear is Jason, "who by courage and by wit despoiled the Colchians of their ram," and deceived and left Hypsipyle.[3] Swathed in the flames of the eighth pit are Ulysses and Diomed, "together in punishment as of old in wrath. Within their flame they groan for the ambush of the horse that made the gate whence the gentle seed of the Romans issued forth. Within it they lament for the artifice whereby the dead Deidamia still mourns for Achilles, and there for the Palladium they bear the penalty."[4] Inferno is equipped with features of the Greek underworld described in the Eneid, Pluto, Cerberus, the Styx and the Lethe, and with the famous monstrosities of the Gorgon, the Furies and the Minotaur. In general the attitude of Dante is more sober, more moral, more independent than that of the ordinary medieval reader. The valor of a warrior is not sufficient atonement for treachery or lust. Even Alexander suffers among the cruel tyrants in the river of blood.[5] But Dante's range of knowledge and of interest is as limited as that of his predecessors for many generations. The familiar tales of the old mythology, a philosophical system or two comprise, to his mind, the story of the Greek race. The men who mean the most to him, who are alive to him, are Jason, Paris and Ulysses, Plato and Aristotle.

[1] *Inferno*, canto v, ll. 64–66. The reference here is to the current story of Achilles' infatuation for Polyxena.

[2] *Op. cit.*, canto xiv, l. 43 *et seq.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, canto xviii, ll. 86–7.

[4] *Op. cit.*, canto xxvi, ll. 56 *et seq.*

[5] *Op. cit.*, canto xii, l. 107.

CHAPTER III

WE have chosen the Divine Comedy as our final illustration of medieval opinion of the Greek past, although that opinion continued to be prevalent even in Italy for a century and more after the Comedy was written. But the generation following Dante included a man of scholarship and ambition who undertook to inaugurate a new epoch in Greek as in Latin letters and whose name must be mentioned with special distinction in any account of the progress of learning in the West. In the generation before Dante, Roger Bacon had written wistfully of the lost wisdom of the Greeks which none of the Latins could regain and had laboriously compiled his grammar to make possible again the study of the Greek language, but his arguments and his toil were unknown beyond a narrow circle and empty of results. With Petrarch we arrive at one who actually set on foot a definite movement which was not entirely to cease until its end had been accomplished and Homer, Sophocles, and Plato were read again in their own tongue in Western Europe.

The story of Petrarch's efforts to study Greek has been told over more than once in recent years.[1] It is, therefore, only necessary to recapitulate it briefly here. From Cicero, his literary master, he early learned to prefer Plato to Aristotle and having acquired a Greek text of certain of the dialogues he yearned to read it.[2] The Timaeus in the old

[1] For fullest account see Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme, ch.* viii. *Cf.* also Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des class. Alterthums*, vol. i, pp. 50 *et seq.*, vol. ii, pp. 105-9. Körting, vol. i, pp. 472-480.

[2] "A maioribus Plato, Aristoteles laudatur a pluribus." *De Ignorantia, Opp.*, p. 1053.

version of Chalcidius he found tantalizingly inadequate. In 1339 and again in 1342 one Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, who had lived in Constantinople and ranked as a scholar of great erudition, came on church business as representative of the Eastern emperor to the papal court at Avignon.[1] During his second sojourn Petrarch arranged for lessons in Greek, the manuscript of Plato to serve as textbook. The lessons, however, were of short duration. Before the year was over Barlaam on Petrarch's own recommendation was consecrated bishop of Gerazzo in Calabria and left Avignon for his new charge.[2] Petrarch still hoped that the work might be resumed at some future opportunity, but before that became possible Barlaam died. In Naples he was the friend of Paolo Perugino, the librarian of Robert, King of Sicily, and had supplied him with various information on Greek customs and legends.[3] But if one may judge from the scantiness of Petrarch's acquisitions Barlaam was not a successful teacher. To begin with he possessed but an indifferent command of Latin, and employed the lesson hours in practicing Latin conversation with his pupil quite as often as in initiating the pupil

[1] Boccaccio describes him as "corpore pusillum, pregrandem tamen scientia, et Grecis literis adeo eruditum ut imperatorum et principum Grecorum atque doctorum hominum privilegia haberet testantia ne dum his temporibus apud Grecos esse, sed nec a multis seculis citra fuisse virum tam insigni tamque grandi scientia preditum." Boccaccio had heard that he had written some books but had never seen them. *De. Gen. Deor.*, lib. xv, cap. 6, Hecker, *Boccaccio-funde*, p. 271. On Barlaam's career see Hefele, vol. vi, pp. 649 *et seq.*

[2] "Barlaam nostrum mihi mors abstulit, et ut verum fatear, illum ego mihi prius abstuleram. Iacturam meam, dum honori eius consulerem, non aspexi; itaque dum ad Episcopum scandentem sublevo magistrum perdidi, sub quo militare coeperam magna cum spe." Letter to Sigeros, *De Reb. Fam.*, Fracassetti, vol. ii, p. 474.

[3] Boccaccio referring to Perugino says, "Et si usquam curiosissimus fuit homo in perquirendis, iussu etiam sui principis, peregrinis undecumque libris, hystoriis et poeticis operibus, iste fuit: et ob id singulari amicitia Barlae iunctus, que a Latinis habere non poterat, eo medio innumera exausit a Grecis." *De Gen. Deor.* lib. xv, cap. 6, *Cf.* also Introd. to *De Gen. Deor.*, Hecker, pp. 271, 165.

into the rudiments of Greek.[1] In the second place he was destitute of sympathy of feeling or imagination. In training he was preëminently a theologian and mathematician of a rather hard type; in philosophy he belonged to the conservative Aristotelian school.[2] He evidently had no share in Petrarch's anxiety to read Plato and could tell him little of Plato's doctrines.[3] At the end of the lessons Petrarch apparently had advanced hardly beyond the alphabet. The Greek words which he copied in after years into his manuscripts were drawn, rather than written, in a large hesitating hand and full of mistakes.[4] Before a page of Greek text he was practically as helpless as ever.[5]

Eleven years later one Nicholas Sigeros was sent to Avignon by the Byzantine emperor to resume the discussion of terms for a reunion of the Eastern and Western churches. On his return to Constantinople he sent back to Petrarch a manuscript of Homer in the original. Petrarch was transported with joy, and begged his friend to procure for him

[1] "Sed erat ille vir ut locupletissimus Grece, sic Romane facundie pauperrimus, et qui ingenio agilis enunciandis tamen affectibus laboraret. Itaque vicissim et ego fines suos, illo duce, trepide subibam, et ille post me sepe nostris in finibus oberrabat, quamquam stabiliore vestigio." *De Reb. Fam.* Fracassetti, vol. ii, p. 474.

[2] The biographical preface to a denunciation of the heresy of Barlaam by John Cantacuzene describes him as "*ὀργάνου μὲν καί τινων ἑτέρων Ἀριστοτελικῶν ὑπῆρχε γεγυμνασμένος, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν μαθημάτων, οὐδ' ἀκροις δακτύλοις, ὡ φασι, γεγευμένος.*" Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Graec.*, vol. i, p. 342.

[3] Nolhac, pp. 327–8.

[4] Nolhac, pp. 366–7.

[5] A few relics of Barlaam's teachings are preserved by Boccaccio, who learned them from Petrarch or Paolo Perugino and carefully treasured and repeated them. *E. g.*, concerning the genealogies of the gods he quotes Barlaam as saying, "neminem insignem virum principatu aut preëminentia alia tota in Grecia, insulis et litoribus premonstratis, eo fuisse seculo quo hec fatuitas viguit, qui ab aliquo deorum huiusmodi duxisse originem non monstraret." *De Gen. Deor.*, Introd., Hecker, p. 165.

also copies of Hesiod and Euripides.[1] Nothing more came, however. Petrarch was sadly obliged to confess that though he had two mighty shades of the past, Homer and Plato, dwelling beneath his roof, they were dumb to him.[2]

In later years Petrarch did not speak again of attempting himself to study Greek. But he threw himself ardently into a scheme which promised to make the contents of one of his

[1] "Et quoniam petitionis successus petendi parit audaciam, mitte si vacat Hesiodum, mitte, precor, Euripidem." *De Reb. Fam.*, Fracasseti, vol. ii, p. 475. From Barlaam Petrarch seems to have heard a little of Euripides whom he accordingly puts next to Homer, "alterum ab Homero poetice Graie lumen Euripidem." *De Remed., Opp.*, p. 212. Later, having learned perhaps somewhat more from Pilato, both Boccaccio and Petrarch allude to the tragedy "Polidorus," which they ascribe to Euripides. Petrarch quotes a sentiment from the "Tresphontes" of Euripides. He refers also, but less definitely, to Sophocles. Hortis, *Studj.*, p. 387.

[2] Writing to Sigeros, he says, "Etsi enim ubicumque sis, de tanto gaudeam amico, viva tamen illa tua vox, que discendi sitim, qua me teneri non dissimulo, posset vel accendere vel lenire, minime aures meas ferit, sine qua Homerus tuus apud me mutus, imo vero ego apud illum surdus sum. Gaudeo tamen vel aspectu solo et sepe illum amplexus ac suspirans dico: 'O magne vir, quam cupide te audirem!' Sed aurium mearum aliam mors obstruxit, aliam longinquitas invisa terrarum. Tibi quidem pro eximia liberalitate gratias ago. Erat mihi domi, dictu mirum, ab occasu veniens olim Plato philosophorum princeps, ut nosti,.... nunc tandem tuo munere, vir insignis, philosophorum principi poetarum Graius princeps accessit. Quis tantis non gaudeat et glorietur hospitibus?.....Neque preterea mihi spes eripitur etate hac profectus in literis vestris, in quibus etate ultima profecisse adeo cernimus Catonem." *De Reb. Fam.*, Fracasseti, vol. ii, pp. 474-475. The curious mingling in Petrarch's mind of traditional deference for Homer and a more intimate and jealous love for Vergil are shown in the letter addressed by him a few years afterward to Homer. There the Greek poet is conceived to be a somewhat irascible great personage, uneasy lest his rightful meed of glory be withheld from him. Petrarch artfully defends Vergil from blame for his failure to mention the name of Homer in the Eneid. *De Reb. Fam.*, Fracassetti, vol. iii, pp. 293-304. The letter is partially translated into English in Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, pp. 253-261. The same jealous pride for the Roman name prompted perhaps Petrarch's indignant denial of the claim made by "quosdam levissimos Grecorum" of the superiority of Alexander's generalship over that of any Roman; "videlicet non tot duces egregios tot prudentium ac fortium virorum millia uni furioso adolescenti potuisse resistere." *Apol. con. Gall., Opp.*, p. 1076.

precious manuscripts intelligible. In the winter of 1358–9 he met at Padua a Calabrian adventurer, Leo, or Leontio, Pilato, who spoke Greek, and professed to be a native of Thessalonica and a pupil of Barlaam. "In appearance," as Boccaccio reports, "he was an unprepossessing fellow, with coarse face, shaggy beard and rough, black hair, given to brooding thoughts, rude and uncultivated in his ways." He knew little Latin, but claimed a profound acquaintance with Greek literature, and especially with history and ancient legendary lore.[1] Petrarch seized the opportunity to have Pilato make for him a specimen translation of the first five books of the Iliad, and communicated the news of his discovery to his friend Boccaccio.[2] During the spring and summer of 1359 the two laid plans to turn the valuable find to the greatest possible advantage. As a result Boccaccio invited Pilato to Florence, and installed him there as a teacher of Greek and a translator of Homer. For a short time at least he was salaried by the university as a public lecturer.[3]

No account of the lectures has come down to us. They

[1] "Post hos et Leontium Pylatum, Thessalonicensem virum et, ut ipse asserit, predicti Barlae auditorem, persepe deduco (as authority for statements in *De Gen. Deor.*). Qui quidem aspectu horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba prolixa et capillitio nigro et meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus nec satis urbanus homo, verum, uti experientia notum fecit, literarum Grecarum doctissimus et quodam modo Grecarum hystoriarum atque fabularum arcivum inexaustum, esto Latinarum non satis adhuc instructus sit." *De Gen. Deor.*, lib., xv, cap. 6. Hecker, p. 272. On Pilato, see Voigt, vol. ii, pp. 109–112.

[2] Nolhac, pp. 339–354.

[3] There are no documents to prove this outside of Boccaccio's own explicit statement: ". . et maximo labore meo curavi ut inter doctores Florentini studii susciperetur, ei ex publico mercede apposita . . . Ipse insuper fui, qui ut legerentur publice Omeri libri operatus sum." *De Gen. Deor.*, lib. xv, cap. 7. Hecker, p. 277. The same assertion is repeated in Manetti's life of Boccaccio, written in the early fifteenth century:" . . . atque ita curavit ut publica mercede ad legendos codices Grecos publice conduceretur: quod ei primo in civitate nostra contigisse dicitur ut Grece ibidem publice legeret." Manetti, *Vite del Dante*, p. 146.

locutio."[1] In a letter to a friend in the Augustinian order he explains the hidden sense of certain proper names used by himself in his Eclogues. Alcestus is the title for a strong king, for "Alce" is valor and "aestus" is heat.[2] Lycidas is a tyrant, from "lyco," a wolf, Dorilus an unhappy captive, from "doris," bitterness.[3] Olimpia is derived from "olimpos," meaning shining or clear. Camalos (perhaps Amalos) means dull or slothful; the significance of Therapon the author has forgotten until he looks up the book in which he found it.[4] The fact which strikes one amongst all this erudition is that nowhere does Boccaccio reveal by word or sign that he has read a Greek book. His knowledge of things Greek excels that of his predecessors in quantity but not in kind. He possesses a larger fund of scraps of etymological and mythological information and he is acquainted with a new Latin version of Homer.[5]

[1] "Cuius quidem poesis nomen non inde exortum est, unde plurimi minus advertenter existimant, scilicet a poio, pois, quod idem sonat quod fingo, fingis: quin immo a poetes, vetustissimum Grecorum vocabulum, Latine sonans exquisita locutio," etc. *De Gen. Deor*, lib. xiv, cap. 7. Hecker, p. 210.

[2] "Alce, quod est virtus, et estus, quod est fervor." *Lettere*, pp. 269–70.

[3] "Lycidam a lyco denomino, qui Latine lupus est . . . Doris quod amaritudo sonat." *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

[4] Olimpia, "ab Olimpos Grece, quod splendidum seu lucidum Latine sonat et inde coelum . . . Camalos Greci, Latine sonat hebes vel torpens, eo quod in eo demonstrentur mores torpentis servi. Therapon, huius significatum non pono, quia non memini, nisi iterum revisam librum ex quo de ceteris sumpsi, et ideo ignoscas. Scis hominis memoriam labilem esse et potissime senum." *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

[5] An illustration of the discussion aroused by some of Pilato's mythological teachings is given in the following extract. "Dicebat enim Leontius a Barlaam, Calabro, preceptore suo, et ab aliis eruditis viris in talibus audisse sepius temporibus Phoronei, Argivorum regis, qui anno mundi. m̄. ccclxxxv̊. regnare cepit, Museum, quem ex inventoribus carminum unum diximus, insignem apud Grecos fuisse virum, et eodem fere tempore floruisse Lynum, de quibus adhuc fama satis celebris est, que eos apud nos etiam testatur sacris prefuisse veterum; et his etiam Orpheus additur Trax, et ob id primi creduntur theologi. Paulus autem Perusi-

The Homer of Pilato has never been printed in full. The first book of the Iliad and the first of the Odyssey have been recently published in the appendix to a large volume on the Latin writings of Boccaccio and from these one must judge the character of the whole.[1] During the course of the work Petrarch wrote begging to be allowed one word of advice, not to make the translation too literal.[2] His warning was evidently fruitless. Pilato had not the training nor capacity to attempt anything artistic. A strictly word for word reproduction was all that lay within his compass. His style can hardly be appreciated without the reading of one or two typical extracts. We quote accordingly from his account of the visit of the heralds to the tent of Achilles to take away Briseis.

nus longe iuniorem poesim esse dicebat, non mutatis auctoribus, asserens Orpheum, qui ex antiquis inventoribus, scribitur unus, temporibus Laumedontis Troyanorum regis, claruisse, qui evo Euristei, regis Mecenarum, apud Troyanos imperium gessit, circa annos mundi. $\overline{\text{m}}$. dcccx., cumque Orpheum ex Argonautis fuisse, et non solum successorem Museo, sed eiusdem Musei Eiumolphi filii fuisse magistrum; quod etiam in libro temporum testatur Eusebius. Ex quo patet, ut dictum est, longe iuniorem quam diceretur apud Grecos esse poesim. Attamen ad hoc respondebat Leontius arbitrari a doctis Grecis plures fuisse Orpheos atque Museos, verum illum veterem Museo veteri atque Lyno contemporaneum Grecum fuisse, ubi Trax iunior predicatur. Sane quoniam iunior hic Bachi orgia adinvenit et Menadum nocturnos cetus, et multa circa veterum sacra innovavit, et plurimum oratione valuit, ex quibus apud coevos ingentis existimationis fuit, a posteris primus creditus est Orpheus." I. e. Pilato argues that poetry was earlier among the Greeks than among the Hebrews, Perugino that Moses was a poet before any Greek was. Boccaccio is inclined to agree with Pilato. *De Gen. Deor.*, lib. xiv, cap. 8. Hecker, pp. 213-4.

[1] Hortis Studj, pp. 543 *et seq.* Nolhac quotes a few short passages with Petrarch's comments on them.

[2] "Unum sane iam hinc premonuisse velim, ne post factum siluisse poeniteat; nam si ad verbum, ut dicis, soluta oratione res agenda est, de hoc ipso loquentem Hieronymum audite . . . 'Si cui,' inquit, 'non videtur lingue gratiam interpretatione mutari, Homerum ad verbum exprimat in Latinum; plus aliquid dicam: eundem in sua lingua prose verbis interpretetur: videbit ordinem ridiculum et poetam eloquentissimum vix loquentem.' Hec dixi ut, dum tempus est, videas ne tantus labor irritus sit." *Epis. Var.*, Fracassetti, vol. iii, p. 370.

" Isti nolentes iverunt ad litus maris sine fece
Mirmidonum ad tendas et naves venerunt.
Hunc invenerunt in tenda et in nave nigra
Sedentem neque istos videns gravit (sic) fuit Achilles,
Isti autem pertimuerunt et verecundabant de rege,
Steterunt neque ipsum vocabant neque loquebantur.
Postquam hic scivit suis in sensibus vocavit;
'Gaudete precones, Iovis nuntii atque et hominum,
Prope venite, non mihi vos causales sed Agamemnon,
Qui vos misit Briseidis causa puelle.
Sed eya, divine Patrocle, abstrahe puellam
Et ipsis des ferre. Hi ipsi testes sint
Ad deos beatos et ad mortales homines
Et ad imperatorem crudelem, si quando postea
Opus mei fiet mortalem morbum expelles;
Aliis certe hic corruptibilibus sensibus cremabitur,
Neque scit intelligere simul ante et post,
Ut ei in navibus salvi pugnent Greci."[1]

Again from the description of the reception of Athena by Telemachus.

" Hec sentiens procatoribus simul sedens aspexit Athenam,
Ivit autem versus vestibulum, redarguit se in animo
Forensem diu in ianuis stare. Iuxta autem stans
Manum cepit dexteram et recepit ferream lanceam,
Et ipsam vocans verbis pennosis loquebatur;
'Ave amice, nobiscum amicaberis, nam postea
Cenam cum finieris sermocinaberis cuius tibi opportunitas.'
Sic cum dixit precessit. Hec autem sequebatur Pallas Athena.
Isti autem quando iam intra fuerunt domum altam
Lanceam certe erexit ferens in columna longa
Vagina lancearum intus benefacta ubi alie
Lancee Ulixis talasifronos stabant multe,
Ipsarum (ipsam) autem in throno sedem (sedere) fecit ducens sub
pannum cum extenderat,

[1] Hortis, pp. 553-4. *Iliad*, A, ll. 329-346.

Bonum varium, sub autem scabellum pedibus fuit,
Penes autem ipsam currum posuit depictum extra alios.
Procatores ne forensis consultatus rumore congregationis
Cena sine delectatione se haberet, superbis cum advenerat,
Ac ut ipsum de patre absente interrogaret.
Cherniva pedisequa fudibili fudit ferens
Bono aureo supra argenteum lebetem,
Ut lavarentur: ante autem benefactam extendit mensam."[1]

As these lines show there was no effort to preserve sense or rhythm,[2] no feeling for genuine equivalents, nothing but a succession of words neither wholly Greek nor Latin.[3]

Nearly seven years passed from the time when Petrarch first planned the undertaking before he received his own copies of the completed work. Thenceforth both he and Boccaccio studied their Homers diligently, and alluded to them frequently in later writings.[4] Petrarch's manuscripts

[1] Hortis, p. 566. *Odyssey*, *a*, ll. 118–138.

[2] The two lines of hexameter quoted by Petrarch in the dialogue, De Contemptu Mundi, are perhaps his own remodelling of Pilato's version. They occur neither in Pilato's original, nor in any medieval Homeric poem. " . . de te non minus proprie quam de Bellerophonte illud Homericum dici posset,

'Qui miser in campis errabat Aleis
Ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.'"

Petrarch, *Opp.*, p. 357. The Greek reference is Iliad, Z, ll. 200–201.

[3] Homeric epithets are exactly and cumbrously reproduced. Achilles is "pedivelox," "acutuspedes, divinus." Hortis, p. 545, l. 58; p. 547, l. 121. Agamemnon, "ample regnans," p. 554, l. 357. Telemachus, "scientificus," p. 569, l. 213. Chryseis, "pulchram genas," or in another reading, "pulchras genas habentem," p. 548, l. 143. The Argives, "bene ocreati," "enea habentium indumenta," p. 544, l. 17, p. 571, l. 286. Among the gods Zeus is "capram lactantis," "delectanti in tonitruis," "nubium agregator," p. 550, l. 222, p. 556, l. 421, p. 558, l. 511. Hera, "canis oculos habens" "bovina oculos dulcis," "ferens albe (alba) brachia," p. 550, l. 225, p. 560, l. 568, p. 560, l. 572. Dawn, "erigenia rubeum digitum dies," p. 557, l. 477. Words which defy translation are incorporated outright, *e. g.*, "elicopeda puella," p. 546, l. 98, "hechibolo Apollini," p. 556, l. 439, "glaucopis Athena," p. 563, l. 44, "Mercurium certe diactoron Argiphontem," p. 565, l. 84.

[4] See for Petrarch, Nolhac, pp. 349–350, Körting, vol. i, pp. 476–8; for Boccaccio, Hortis, pp. 371–2.

of the Iliad and Odyssey, closely annotated in his own hand, are still in preservation at Paris. The comments vary in character from explanations of difficult words by synonym and definition, or of dark passages by notes on Greek mythology and customs, to moral and religious criticisms on Homeric ethics and theology.[1] They serve to demonstrate again, if further demonstration were needed, Pilato's inadequacy as teacher and translator, Petrarch's zeal in the new pursuit, his consciousness of the importance of the achievement, and at the same time his failure to apprehend the poet's spirit through such a medium. One can hardly blame him that he shows no perception of the freshness and human interest of the epic story, and that he tries to compensate for the barbarity of the style by finding didactic and allegorical meanings in the simplest sentences. One cannot wonder that no outburst of delight follows his first reading or that a few years later we should discover him saying that Demosthenes had been succeeded by Cicero, Homer by Vergil, and that the later comers had equalled or excelled their models.[2] The lines of another sonnet writer four centuries afterward might have been his.

[1] For interesting and full citations see Nolhac, pp. 355-366. Pilato must at times have given his imagination full swing, as in his elaborate discussion of the reasons why Homer began the catalogue of ships with the contingent from Bœotia, *op. cit.*, p. 356, note 1.

[2] "Ergo post Platonem atque Aristotelem de rebus omnem philosophie partem spectantibus Varro et Cicero scribere ausi sunt. Post Demosthenem de rebus ad eloquentiam pertinentibus Cicero idem, post Homerum poetice scribere ausus est Maro; et uterque quem sequebatur aut attigit aut transcendit." He goes on to compare Latin historians, lawgivers, mathematicians, theologians with Greek to the advantage of the former, and ends: "Denique Grecos et ingenio et stylo frequenter vicimus et frequenter equavimus; imo, si quid credimus Ciceroni, semper vicimus ubi annisi sumus." *Rer. Senil., Opp.*, p. 913. This letter was written about 1370. Whether the words express more disappointment or relief might be hard to determine.

"Standing aloof in giant ignorance,
Of thee I hear and of the Cyclades,
As one who sits ashore and longs perchance
To visit dolphin-coral in deep seas."[1]

Nevertheless he never abandoned the task of studying and commenting upon the treasured pages. If early tradition be true, death, when it came, found him busy in his library over Pilato's Odyssey.[2]

The part of Petrarch and Boccaccio in the revival of Greek scholarship in the West may be briefly summarized as follows. They were the first men of influence to feel an ambition to read Greek literature in the original, and to express that ambition in words that made a lasting impression. They were also the first to inquire after artistic masterpieces heretofore ignored, after Homer and Euripides, as well as more didactic authors. They aimed to be humanists in Greek as in Latin. Against the overwhelming dominance of Aristotle they sought to oppose Plato. Their actual accomplishments fell far short of their desires. They never learned to read Greek. They knew but one new author in translation, Homer. Their stock of laboriously acquired information, linguistic and historical, was dubious in quality, soon to become totally discredited. They concluded by pronouncing Greek culture at its best inferior to Latin. But they set the fashion in literary circles of longing for more knowledge. They reminded Western Europe after generations of satisfied ignorance of what it had forgotten. They reintroduced Homer to Italy. The poverty of their translation was a stimulus to the production of a better in the following century. In short they gave the starting impulse to the movement which was to restore Greek literature in its original form to a place in the education of every cultivated European.

[1] Keats, *To Homer.*

[2] Nolhac, pp. 348-9.

Petrarch and Boccaccio died within a few years of one another, but the renewed and broader interest in the classics lived on in men who had felt their influence. Giovanni Malpaghini of Ravenna, in youth Petrarch's favorite pupil, set out twice on a quest through Italy for an opportunity to study Greek, hoping to discover a second Barlaam or Pilato.[1] Failing in this he became a teacher of Latin rhetoric and belles-lettres in Padua, perpetuating there the ideals of literary taste and earnestness which he had inherited from Petrarch.[2] Luigi Marsigli of the convent of San Spirito held a position in Florence corresponding to that of Malpaghini in Padua. A great admirer of Petrarch, he had continually on his lips the names which Petrarch had honored, Cicero, Vergil, Seneca. Among the younger students whom he inspired with a love for the classic past were some who were later to bring about the final revival of Greek in Florence.

Indeed, during the latter years of the fourteenth century,

[1] He even proposed a journey to Constantinople, but was dissuaded by Petrarch, who thought there was more likelihood of finding a satisfactory teacher in Italy. See a letter of introduction which Petrarch gave him at the time of his second expedition: "In primis autem literas Grecas sitit et senile Catonis desiderium, vixdum pubes, anticipat . . . Neu forsitan mireris, habet ista precipitatio rationis velum, cum enim primum illi animus fuisset recto calle Constantinopolim proficisci, edoctus a me Greciam, ut olim ditissimam, sic nunc omnis longe inopem disciplinе, hoc uno mihi credito, non omisit iter propositum sed inflexit, cumque ex me sepius audisset aliquot Graie lingue doctissimos homines nostra etate Calabriam habuisse, nominatim duos, Barlaam monachum ac Leonem seu Leontium. Quorum uterque mihi perfamiliaris, primus etiam et magister fuerat profecissetque aliquid fortasse, ni mors invidisset. Statuit Calabrum littus invisere et Italie plagam illam que magna olim Grecia dicta est. . . . Quod desperat apud Grecos, non diffidit apud Calabros inveniri posse." *Rer. Senil., Opp.*, p. 887.

[2] His reputation as a traveller, perhaps, once made his friend Salutato appeal to him on a question of Greek usage. "Demum habent Greci pluralem numerum duplicem; unum qui de duobus, alterum quem dicunt de pluribus significare. Quo, precor, si Grece sciveris ac voles loqui, quo, precor, plurali, dimetro vel polymetro, quempiam honoris gratia compellabis." Salutato, *Epist.*, vol. ii, pp. 473-4. It is doubtful if Malpaghini was able to answer so simple an inquiry.

Florence, in her season of freedom and prosperity, was the centre of intellectual activity of all kinds. Her architects and painters had begun the beautifying of the city with monuments of every description, the promise of still better things to come. The majestic dome of Santa Maria del Fiore was just rising beside the Arno. Many of her leading citizens were keenly interested in antiquities and artistic and literary subjects. Beside the serious meetings of scholars in the convent of San Spirito there were brilliant gatherings of poets and litterati in the gardens of the pleasure villas outside the walls. Wealthy young aristocrats, like Roberto Rossi, Palla Strozzi and Jacopo da Scarperia, applied themselves to the cultivation of the liberal arts, collecting enthusiastically manuscripts, coins and ancient carvings, stopping at no pains or expense to increase their own information or to add a gem to the museums of the republic. Nicolo Niccoli, the eldest son of a well-to-do merchant, caught the fever, abandoned his father's business and broke with his family in order to devote himself unreservedly to intellectual pursuits. Through Marsigli he was introduced to a study of the Latin classics. Whatever he could spare from his income he thenceforth spent on manuscripts, and by unwearying diligence he became the expert copyist and correlator of texts, the authority on correct readings, and the ablest detector of literary corruption of his day.

The man whose writings reveal most fully the culture of the later fourteenth century and who stood as the leader and patron of the whole literary movement in Florence, is Coluccio Salutato, for over thirty years chancellor of the republic, author of numerous state papers and works on historical, philosophical and moral subjects. Toward the end of Petrarch's life Salutato exchanged a few letters with him chiefly on political matters. At news of his death he composed an extravagant eulogy to his memory, setting him

above all the writers whom antiquity or "arrogant Greece" could boast.[1] He held Petrarch always in peculiar veneration and showed the effects of his influence in various ways. His Latin style was Petrarch's considerably exaggerated. An upright, laborious student of letters he lacked the sensitiveness of feeling and taste that marked the father of humanism. Even his correspondence is elaborate, oratorical, pompous, fairly loaded down with classic allusions and quotations. On the other hand, he shared with Petrarch in certain invaluable scholarly virtues, an unflagging energy in the search for lost masterpieces, a disgust for half informed teachers, careless librarians, bungling copyists and obscure and crude translators. In 1392 he wrote twice to Antonio Loschi, an acquintance who had travelled in the East, pressing upon him the duty of rewriting Pilato's version of Homer. He should not be daunted by its barbarity, but should systematically set about recasting and polishing the phraseology until he obtained a product truly Homeric in diction as well as in thought. Nor should he be too literal nor too careful to make each Latin line match precisely with the Greek, but in the interests of art he should vary the cold narrative with interrogations and exclamations, adding or leaving out at discretion to make the story more attractive. Finally he would do well to write the whole in sonorous prose instead of attempting verse.[2] In these instructions

[1] "Et cum insolens Grecia se anteponeret in ceteris Latio vel equaret, in ethicis impar se vinci a Seneca fatebatur. Nos autem habemus quem possimus et antiquitati et ipsi Grecie non dicam obicere sed preferre: unum hunc Franciscum Petrarcam," &c. Salutato, *Epist.*, vol. i, p. 182.

[2] "Nec te terreat insulsa nimis illa translatio et quod nichil in ipsa secundum verba suave sit. Res velim, non verba, consideres; illas oportet extollas et ornes et tum propriis, tum novatis verbis comas, talemque vocabulorum splendorem adicias, quod non inventione solum, nonque sententiis sed verbis etiam Homericum illud quod omnes cogitamus exhibeas atque sones.....Non etiam verbo verbum, sicut inquit Flaccus,

'curabis reddere fidus
Interpres.'

for the new rendering of Homer there speaks already the reaction of spirit from the medieval slavish subservience to an original. The original, in Salutato's view, was to be altered and amended to suit a modern sense of style. With an allowance for differences in the standards of the times, Salutato's Homer might have reminded us of Pope's. Apparently Loschi never attempted it.

Salutato himself on one occasion tried his hand at retouching a translation from the Greek. A copy of Plutarch, "De Remediis Irae," which had recently been put into Latin by one Simon, Archbishop of Thebes, stirred his indignation by the awkwardness and obscurity of its wording. Writing to the cardinal to whom he was indebted for the book he remarks, that one cannot, however, expect better from a Greek at a time when Latins themselves can scarcely aim at more than being grammatical. "We have," he says, "in this age no Cicero, Jerome, Rufinus, Ambrose, Chalcidius, Cassiodorus, Evagrius or Boethius to make us translations so polished and graceful that they are equal to the originals both in beauty and clarity. Still I am grateful to the good man who has given us Plutarch in whatever form. Would that we possessed other works of the same philosopher even in as poor a shape!"[1] He adds that he has endeavored to turn this

nec carmini carmen connumerare. Denique cunctis debitam tribues maiestatem si soluta mutatis vel additis coniunctionibus nectes, si frigidiuscula tum exclamationibus, tum interrogando quasi quibusdam accendes igniculis; si denique poteris, inventa commutans vel omittens aliquid aut addens, seriem efficere gratiorem; et demum si primo nitaris tum magis propria, tum mage splendentia vel sonora vocabula, quam interpres ille fecerit, et ea eadem ipsa prosa non versibus in eandem sententiam adhibere. Hec satis." *Epist.*, vol. ii, pp. 356–7. The second letter on the subject was written two months later, assuring Loschi that he could perform the task satisfactorily if he only would. *Ibid.*, pp. 398–9. Later Salutato composed an invective against Loschi in return for his attack on Florence.

[1] "Misit mihi benignitas tua libellum Plutarchi De Remediis Ire, quem olim de Greco transtulit in Latinum iussione tua vir multe venerationis, Simon, archi-

semi-Greek version into true Latin, enlivening the monotony of the argument with exclamations and questions,—his unfailing remedy for inelegance and dullness. Fortunately or unfortunately no more of this work than Salutato's description of it has ever been printed.

Not only was he concerned with improving the quality of existing translations from the Greek, but once at least he contemplated the making of an original Latin version of a Greek book hitherto unknown. The renown of the library of Juan Fernandez de Heredia, grand master of the Knights of Jerusalem, had reached him, and he composed a letter of great length and ponderousness to inquire after lost writings of the historians which might be contained therein. He wishes it understood that he does not refer to the well known works of men like Eusebius, Cassiodorus, Josephus, Bede, Orosius, the thirty books of Livy or the Gallic and Civil Wars of Cæsar. But he is on a search for the rest of Livy, Trogus Pompeius and Quintus Curtius' "De Gestis Alexandri Macedoniae." Furthermore, he has heard that Don Juan Fernandez has had a translation made of forty-eight of Plutarch's Lives from ancient into vulgar Greek and thence into Spanish. He begs that a copy may be sent him. He may, perhaps, transfer it from Spanish into Latin. In return

episcopus Thebanus, quem tractatum avide discurrens mecum indignari cepi, tantam esse illius translationis obscuritatem tamque horrido stilo compositam, quod nulla prorsus alliceret suavitate lectorem, nec facile pateret quid nobis tantus philosophus tradidisset.....Nec tamen est ab hominis Greci professione requirendum Latinum eloquium, hac presertim etate qua vix supra puram grammaticam elevamur etiam nos Latini. Non sunt hoc tempore Cicerones, Hieronymi, Rufini, Ambrosii vel Chalcidii, non Cassiodori, non Evagrii, non Boetii, quorum translationes tante sunt venustatis atque dulcedinis, quod nichil possit ornatus vel perspicuitatis in his que transtulerunt desiderari. Habeo tamen illi optimo viro gratias qui nobis qualitercumque Plutarchum dedit. Utinam et cetera eiusdem philosophi vel taliter haberemus!" Salutato, *Epist.*, vol. ii, pp. 480–483. (Evagrius of Antioch [fl. c., 380] was reputed to be the author of the Latin version of the "Vita S. Antonii.")

he will gladly lend the grand master his Latin version of the Odyssey and anything else from his own shelves which the other may care to see.[1] The answer of Don Juan Fernandez has not been preserved. That Salutato's quest was in part successful may be inferred from the presence in Florentine libraries in after years of several manuscripts of an Italian rendering of Plutarch's Lives, the heading to which states that the book was first put into vulgar Greek by a Greek philosopher at Rhodes, thence into Aragonese by a Dominican bishop, learned in science, history and languages, at the behest of "Don Freyre Giovanni Ferrando di Eredia, by the grace of God master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem."[2] We may conjecture that Salutato found the labor of inter-

[1] "Nec peto communes istos quos habemus, Eusebium, Cassiodorum, Iosephum, Egesippum, Historias scholasticas, Bedam, Orosium, Iustinum, Eutropium, Paulum Diaconum, tres Titi Livii Decades, Salustii, Catilinarum et Iugurtinum, non Anneum Senecam, qui Florus inscribitur, non abbreviationem Titi Livii, non modernorum nugas, Specula videlicet historialia, Satyram Paulini, Martini Chronicas et si qua alia nostris his duobus edita seculis fuerit unquam tibi cura videndi; non etiam Suetonium de duodecim Cesaribus, non historicos illos, qui incipientes ab Adriano usque in Numerianum omnes Cesares Augustos atque tyrannos stylo non incongruo descripserunt, Spartianus, Capitolinus, Gallicanus, Lampridius, Trebellius, et Vopiscus: non commentarios Caii Cesaris de bello Gallico, quos multi non mediocriter errantes, ut arbitror, Iulio Celso tribuunt; non etiam communes illos de bello Civili, sed si quos alios videris aut habes, et presertim si de Tito Livio plus alicubi scias esse quam triginta libros. Si Trogum Pompeium vidisti vel habes aut unquam ubi sit percepisti et an totum repereris Q. Curtium de Gestis Alexandri Macedonie. Nimis equidem diminutum habemus. De historiis etiam Salustii, si qua unquam bella civilia, que Suetonius scripsisse creditur vel historias Claudii Cesaris inspexisti. Sed in Livio magis et cordalius serves. Ceterum scio quod de Greco in Grecum vulgare et de hoc in Aragonicum Plutarchum de Hystoria xxxviii ducum et virorum illustrium interpretari feceris: habeo quidem rubricarum maximam partem. Cupio, si fieri potest, hunc librum videre; forte quidem transferam in Latinum. Ego autem habeo translationem Odyssee Homeri in Latino, quem librum audio te quesisse. Si iusseris, mittam hunc tibi et quicquid me habere senseris quod tibi placeat plus quam libenter." *Epist.*, vol. ii, pp. 299–301.

[2] Traversari, vol. i, p. ccxciv.

preting the Spanish more difficult than he had imagined, and bade some subordinate translate the whole into Italian, possibly still intending ultimately to carry it on from Italian into Latin. But there is no proof that the final metamorphosis was ever accomplished.

Like his predecessors, Salutato took delight in exercising ingenuity on Greek derivations. His knowledge of roots he derived from Boccaccio and the older sources for etymology, and he thought it not undignified to enliven the seriousness of a state letter with a happy play upon words. In a congratulatory epistle to Carlo di Durazzo, king of Naples, he reminds him that his name Carolus is compounded of "charis" and "olon," that is, "altogether gracious."[1] In a note to the chancellor of Bologna he remarks that he is amazed to hear that "melanconia," "that black humor," could ever lay hold of him.[2] In more sober vein he addresses to the bishop of Recanati and Macerata an expostulation on the news that the prelate has ordered the word "evangelium" to be spelled and pronounced "euvangelium" throughout his diocese. Salutato would like to know the authority for any such form. He has discovered none in the old authors. He is aware of the enigmatical lines in the Grecismus of Eberhard of Bethune,

> "Good is 'eu,' and thence is 'evangelium;'
> Evil, 'evan,' and thence is 'evangelium.'"

and of the fact that some texts spell "evangelium" of the first line with two u's, but he has no great respect for Eber-

[1] "Karolus enim a charis Grece, Latine gratia, et olon, totus, dicitur, hoc est totus gratiosus." *Epist.*, vol. ii, p. 31.

[2] "Respondisti michi, frater optime, te melanconia perfusum meam litteram recepisse, in quo miratus sum, videns quod humor ille niger, talem enim quod et Grecum vocabulum sonat, physici volunt, te potuerit, ut scribis, plurimum occupare." *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 298.

hard.[1] "'Eu,' as Eberhard tells us and as every one says, is Greek, and means in Latin, good. 'Aggelos' is messenger, and with a change of the first g into n serves among us Latins as the word angel, hence 'evangelium,' which is, good tidings. I can see no reason nor necessity for inserting the second u, nor can the authority of Priscian or Donatus or any other be cited to support it."[2] The Greeks, he goes on to argue, never had a diphthong ending in u vowel. U after another vowel was always u consonant, or v with the sound of the Eolic digamma. They said Thesevs, not Theseus. The correct pronunciation of "evangelium" is with e vowel succeeded by u consonant. So Balbus and Brito, in their ecclesiastical treatises, and all learned scholars wrote the word. If the bishop's informer persists in his opinion he should advance proofs at once. However, Salutato would be glad to hear if the bishop has ever found the word "evangelium" in a malevolent sense as implied in the second line quoted from the Grecismus. "I know that 'Evan' is Bacchus; I know that 'Evantes' are Bacchantes, or frenzied, as 'evari' is 'bacchari,' to be in frenzy, but how 'evangelium' can be made to assume a similar meaning I would give much to know."[3] The problem remained insoluble.

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 187-9. This is a curious letter, but it is impossible to quote more than short extracts.

"Euque bonum signat et ab hoc evangelium dic;
Perversum sit evan: hinc fit evangelium." *Epist.*, vol. ii, p. 187.

[2] "Eu quidem, ut ille vult et omnes dicunt, Grecum est et bonum Latine significat. Aggelos autem nuncius est, qui apud nos, mutata penes Latinos prima g in n, angelus facit: inde evangelium, hoc est bonum annuncium. Nam interponi illam u nescio rationem videre vel necessitatem; nec id fieri debere potest auctoritate Prisciani vel Donati aut alterius demonstari." *Ibid.*

[3] "Scio quod Evan Bacchus est: scio quod evantes idem est quod bacchantes et insanientes, sicut evari, bacchari vel insanire; sed qualiter ad hoc deducatur evangelium multifacerem edoceri." *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Of Greek itself, as one may readily gather from passages such as these, Salutato knew no more and probably less than Boccaccio. He and his generation represent no advance in actual knowledge or achievement, They stand simply as preservers of the tradition which Petrarch and Boccaccio handed on to them. Ignorant of Greek, they lamented their deficiencies and did what seemed possible to remedy them."[1] Concerned most of all with the gradual revival of the Latin classics, they did not forget that the source of Latin culture was the Greek and that the Greek too must be recovered in due time. Malpaghini, Marsigli, Niccoli, Salutato were all too old to learn the new language and to explore the new realms of thought when the opportunity finally came, but they had prepared another generation to profit by the privileges which they could not use. Is was through the special exertions of Niccoli and Salutato in 1395 that Chrysoloras came to Florence.

[1] Salutato, *Epist.*, vol. i, pp. 51–2.

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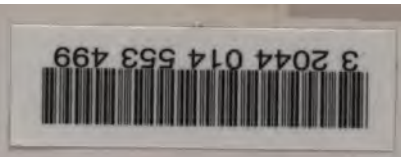

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